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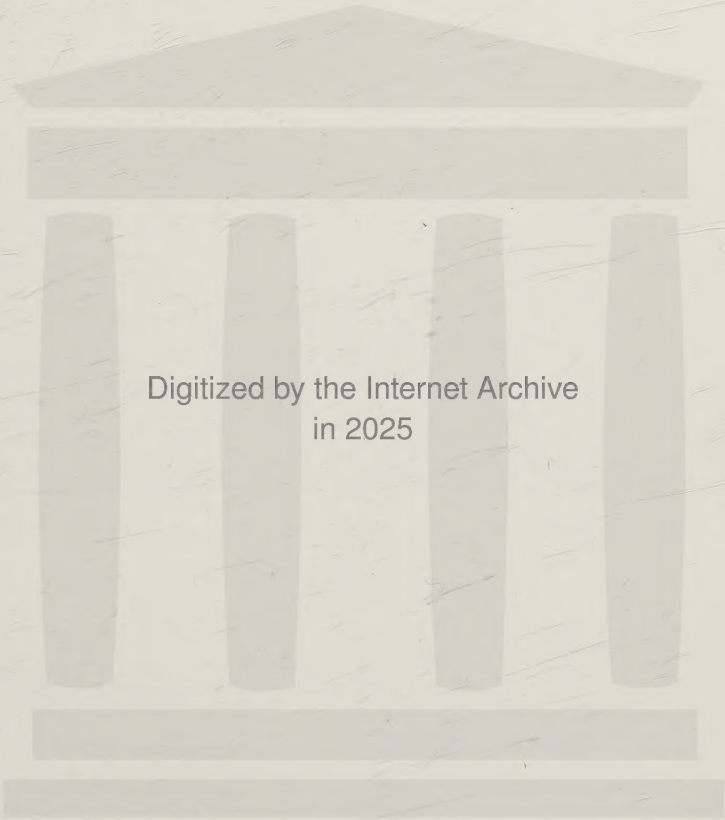

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THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM

By EDWARD HICKS

(Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College)

A version of Hicks's painting commemorative of "the Progress of Religious Liberty"? See pages 12-30.

The BULLETIN *of* Friends Historical Association

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The
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of
Friends Historical Association

Vol. 50 **Spring Number, 1961** **No. 1**

TWO NOTES ON EDWARD HICKS

In what was probably the first major exhibition ever devoted to the work of a Quaker artist, the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection at Williamsburg, Virginia, presented in October 1960 a handsomely mounted showing of some forty paintings of Edward Hicks (1780-1849) of Newtown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. For this exhibit Mary Black, Curator of the Collection, prepared a valuable annotated and illustrated catalogue (Edward Hicks, 1780-1849: A Special Exhibition Devoted to His Life and Work, *with an Introduction and Chronology by Alice Ford, Williamsburg, 1960). In the afterglow of this notable exhibit of Hicks's "primitive" art, the* BULLETIN *offers two documentary notes which, it is hoped, will throw further light on this Quaker minister's troubled approach to artistic self-expression.*

THE PUBLICATION OF EDWARD HICKS'S *MEMOIRS*

By ALICE FORD*

The *Memoirs of the Life and Religious Labors of Edward Hicks, Late of Newtown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania* are as rare, as obscure and forgotten, as his *Peaceable Kingdom* paintings are now known and prized. His dedicated art, which in the last quarter-century has won him, by popular consent across the Western World, the rank of foremost American primitive painter, is known and loved by all manner of friends. His conquests have been made not only by his luminous original oils but often by the murkiest of murky reproductions.

In the wake of the first Edward Hicks retrospective exhibition at Williamsburg, Virginia, a little coda about the *Memoirs* suggests itself. This volume includes, besides the Memoirs themselves, two of his sermons—"A Little Present for Friends and Friendly People" and "A Word of Exhortation to Young Friends." The first of these is the perfect elucidation of his painted ministry.[1] Published in 1851, the book has a history which would be deserving of attention in itself even if it did not supply a key to the iconography of his paintings. For an appreciation of the full strength of his ministry, powerfully suggested by his painted *Peaceable Kingdoms*—oft-repeated and rather like so many sweet echo chambers—it is to his own words that one must turn. Ministry hailed as great in its day,[2] it is still, for all its antiquated style and sometimes embarrassing peevishness, deeply moving.

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*Alice Ford is the author of books on Edward Hicks and John James Audubon. She wishes to express grateful acknowledgment to the Editor of the BULLETIN for his additions in text and footnotes to this article.

[1] *See* Alice Ford, *Edward Hicks: Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp. 85-88. See also note 5, infra.

[2] [For example, a Philadelphia Friend wrote in 1822, after hearing him preach: "He has displayed great natural eloquence and called forth the admiration of the Society as well as Strangers. . . . He attracted as much attention during his last visit as Elias (Edward's cousin, Elias Hicks) does

One day in 1843, the small, frail, always heavily burdened Quaker minister and coach painter (with quite a local name for easel painting as well) began the record—part diary, part retrospective autobiography, part contemplative soliloquy—which he himself hoped one day to see into print: "Newtown, 4th mo. 4th, 1843: I am, this day, sixty-three years of age, and I have thought right to attempt, at least, to write a short narrative of my life, by way of testimony to the mercy and goodness of a gracious God. . . ." On July 13, 1849, forty-one days before his death, he closed his Memoirs: ". . . seriously, and awfully, and thoughtfully"—and in mortal pain—he penned his farewell.[3]

For nineteenth-century Friends publication posed delicate problems, since there was, and continued to be, much doubt, at least among Hicksites, as to the wisdom of publishing anything of a religious or controversial nature. "Spent pretty much [time] in writing," Hicks had written on June 27, 1846, "which I am afraid will be of but little use: for should it ever be published, no body will think it worth reading, except some few of my friends who may be left." A few weeks later, on July 22, his friend John Comly, who had helped bring him into the Society of Friends, had suggested to him that, considering the "radical deficiency" of the current Quaker ministry, "it would be better not to publish a person's writing till three or four years after they were dead, so as to let their *foibles* die with them." Edward Hicks himself had conceded, "I would seriously ask, whether it can exalt the cause of truth, for the Society of Friends to give their sanction to the publication of the writings of such. If it were my own case, I would say they had better be burned. . . ." But by November 6th of that year he had reconsidered: "Industriously engaged in my shop," he wrote, "feeling peace . . . in securing the arrangement for publishing the work I verily believe it was my religious duty to give to the people."[4]

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when here, and the Meetings were crowded to overflowing. . . . Indeed his appearance . . . has been such as to prove him a great Man, and as many of us think, an Eminent 'Minister of the Gospel'." Townsend Sharpless to Mary Jones, January 17, 1822, Sharpless MSS, Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. EDITOR.]

[3] *Memoirs,* pp. 2, 258-61.

[4] Ibid., pp. 183, 190, 213.

The "work" in question was his "Little Present for Friends and Friendly People," which was published anonymously in 1846, together with a reprint of his "Word of Exhortation to Young Friends," published the previous year.[5] These sermons were printed and distributed free of charge, thanks to the generosity of his cousin Henry Hicks, a wealthy merchant of New York,[6] who had also promised to finance the publication of the complete Memoirs.

As early as 1845, when he was working over his "Word of Exhortation," Edward Hicks had been seeking editorial and other guidance with publication problems. An attempt to interest the highly literate Philadelphia merchant and fellow Hicksite, Richard Price, had elicited only this discouraging reply:

Philadelphia, 9 mo. 12th, 1845

Edward Hicks
Dear friend

. . . It may appear strange to thee that in this simple matter of thine I should decline, but I believe it can be done by others much better.

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[5] [The history of these publications is obscure, no doubt because they were privately printed and bore no author's name on their title pages. Hence a clarifying note may be helpful. *A Word of Exhortation to Young Friends: Presented to Them without Money and without Price* first appeared from the press of John Richards, 299 Market Street, Philadelphia, in 1845. The author was identified only as "A Poor Illiterate Minister." It was originally written, says a prefatory note, "in connexion with" the Memoirs, "with no expectation at the time of its being published in any other way," but the "unsettled state of the Society of Friends" circa 1845 led the author to "offer his mite" in the hope of restoring peace and unity among Friends. *A Little Present for Friends and Friendly People: in the Form of a Miscellaneous Discourse* was printed by John Richards of Philadelphia in 1846, together with a reprint of the earlier sermon. This time the author was identified as "A Poor Illiterate Mechanic." This sermon had originally been taken down in shorthand as he had delivered it at Goose Creek Meeting, Loudoun County, Virginia, on February 22, 1837. Although he was personally opposed to such publications, suspecting "that pedling and speculation were the principal objects of the Stenographer," he had conceded, according to the prefatory note, to the requests of his hearers and allowed it to be printed and distributed, again "without money and without price," through the generosity of his cousin, described in a footnote simply as "a respectable merchant." Both pamphlets are excessively rare. They were later reprinted as part of the *Memoirs* (1851), pp. 263-365. EDITOR.]

[6] See Walter R. Barrett, *Old Merchants of New York City* (New York, 1863-1870), II, 303.

. . . thee asks me to receive money from H[enry] W. Hicks of New York and appropriate it for thee, in the fulfillment of a Religious duty. I would much prefer being excused from doing so. It could be done equally as well by Oliver Hough, and would relieve me of a business I would particularly wish to avoid, in the receipt and application of Henry's money, or anyone else's money. If means are required, I will be willing to add my mite . . . without appearing *Conspicuously* in the case. For I should wish to pass my remaining years, if possible, unnoticed and unknown by many of the passing things. This being a religious Duty, it is right and best to attend to it. I should fear, in the unsettled state of *both portions* of Society . . . that a rich Harvest would not be gained from thy efforts. But if thee does all thee can, it will bring thee peace, and may be best, not to look at the events.

. . . thee asks me to call upon Richards and ascertain the charge of Printing, Binding, etc. This is a business I am entirely ignorant [of], and would find it very difficult to explain to him. . . . I should be very unsuitable. . . . I am very sure Oliver Hough or any one else would give more satisfaction. . . . I must therefore solicit thee to excuse me . . . and to feel assured that it is no want of affection or friendship for thee that causes my action and freedom in declining. . . . I hope my declination will not prove much disappointment to thee. . . . With the pressure of other things, I do not feel at liberty to undertake additional matters. . . . I have written in much haste, and may not have made myself Clearly understood. If so, spread the mantle of Charity over my hasty production.[7]

The fact was that Edward Hicks had already approached Oliver Hough, related by marriage to Joseph Briggs, the hatter, a long-time friend. His overtures had met with this cautious yet apparently willing reply:

Philadelphia, 9 mo. 10th, 1845

Dear Edward,

I scarcely know what answer to give thee in relation to the exact expense attending the publication of the manuscript. As regards the labour I shall have to bestow upon it, in drawing it off and attending to its publication, it would all be cheerfully performed, without reference whatever to remuneration, if it were not that a particular desire has been repeatedly expressed on thy part, that I should be compensated for my labour. I am desirous thy manuscript should be published, and feel a freedom to suggest, that thou wilt send or rather bring it to me at thy earliest convenience, let me prepare it for publication, and if the charge which I shall propose in this letter, is deemed

[7] Hicks Collection, Newtown, Pennsylvania.

extravagant, why let my claim be set aside altogether, and I will feel myself fully and satisfactorily paid, for whatever assistance I may be able to render thee, from the gratification I shall experience, in having given my mite of ability, toward the furtherance of thy conscientious labours. As for thyself, thou must certainly be fully aware, that I always have been, and still am, perfectly willing to copy any thing for thee thou mayst desire, without any reference, present or remote, to a remuneration of any kind. But in the present instance, I understand the case to be essentially different — for, if I understood thee rightly when we were conversing on this subject, Henry Hicks of New York had promised to become sponsor for all the expense of publication, in which case I am not unwilling, (he being wealthy) to receive a compensation for what I may do in the premises, the more especially as I have a family, dependent, in a great measure, upon the labours of my pen. I think it probable that 50 or perhaps 60 dollars, would not any more than pay for copying, printing, examination, etc., as, more than likely, it will have to be written over twice previous to publication — indeed scriveners here would charge a much larger amount. But I will be satisfied with either of the sums above specified, or I am willing to perform the service without any sum at all. At all events let the publication not be postponed — at least let it not be deferred on my account, for I am anxious to perform my part in any way thou mayst desire. The number of copies, I think, ought not to be less than a thousand, and that number was included in my estimate. After I have copied it I will immediately send it to thee for thy inspection, when thou canst point out any alteration or improvement thou mayst deem necessary, after which I will attend to its publication.[8]

Edward Hicks died without absolute assurance that his cousin, Henry Hicks, would be able with impunity to carry out his promise to see the Memoirs published. Many friends interested themselves in the project, some with fears and apprehensions. Less than a month after his death, his friend John Comly wrote to Benjamin Ferris, clockmaker, historian, and confirmed Hicksite, who had visited him during his last days:

Byberry, 9th mo. 17th, 1849

My dear friend

. . . I was particularly interested in thy account of the visit to Edward Hicks. It was what I was waiting for with some anxiety, in the hope of a favourable result respecting the manuscript Journal. But however animating and satisfactory the other parts of the visit, and his daughter's account of his close, — my mind is affected with sorrow at the

[8] Ibid.

evident want of confidence, not only in his particular and best friends, but also in the institutions and order of the Society of which Edward professed to be a minister and member in unity. From various other accounts and reports, I am very apprehensive that thy *fears* in relation to his prohibiting any changes or corrections being made in the Manuscript, are too well founded. I however, as a last resort, have addressed a letter to his daughter Elizabeth, entreating her to use her influence to have the papers read by Isaac Parry & thyself, or any other she might see proper, *before* they go into the hands of Henry Hicks. I must now leave the subject, altho under painful anticipations. It is only another instance of the disjointed, crumbling state of our Society. . . .

Thy friend,

JOHN COMLY.[9]

John Comly himself died on August 17, 1850, before publication of the Memoirs, and perhaps before the final decisions were made regarding them.

On September 24, 1849, Amos Willets of New York wrote to Benjamin Ferris about his attempts to see Henry Hicks as to "some suitable Friend's examining Edward's journal" before publication. He reported that Henry Hicks had decided meanwhile to let Isaac Parry, a relative of the painter and his former traveling companion, be the judge, calling, if he wished, upon several of his friends to examine the manuscript with him. Isaac W. Hicks, son of Edward, had been briefly consulted "at the time of the funeral," but Henry was going to consult with the family again: he wanted to assure Friends that nothing would be published "that would militate against the character of Edward or the Society." Amos closed: "Does not this course pervert the intention of our Discipline in regard to Religious publications, especially where they treat on doctrine?"[10]

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[9] Ferris Collection, Friends Historical Library. Benjamin Ferris described his last visit with Edward Hicks in these words: "I visited him on the 17th; lodged there, and left him on 7th day the 18th. He was about the house as usual—very cheerful, and interesting in conversation." "My Kith and Kin: Historical and Genealogical Memoranda . . ." MS at Delaware Historical Society, p. 21.

[10] Ferris Collection, Friends Historical Library. [In Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's current *Rules of Discipline* (Philadelphia, 1843) it was provided that the Meeting for Sufferings should "advise or assist any of our members, on their own application, who may incline to publish any manuscript or work which may tend to promote the cause of Truth or be beneficial to society." If any one should publish anything which "tends to excite disunity and dis-

A few weeks later Isaac Parry wrote to Friend Ferris from his home in Horsham that he had gone with Henry Hicks to Newtown to "view" the manuscripts, and had found them "very interesting, but requiring some correction which and which alone was directed by the author." He indicated that the family was eager for Benjamin to write a preface:

> as thou art an intimate friend and was well acquainted with his Ministerial labours thee will be able of thy own knowledge to explain that excessive humility which some times appears in regard to his religious Labours, he having observed in the Journals of many friends glowing accounts of the great effect of their ministry while they endeavoured to ascribe all to the Giver. He thought there was self-complacency couched therein. In order to avoid this I have apprehended that he has gone to the opposite extreme [with the result] that those that did not know him could not appreciate his standing in Society nor the world at large by his Journal.

Elizabeth Hicks, the favorite daughter, who, as Parry wrote, "knew almost his secret thoughts," was waiting to hear from Benjamin Ferris about his willingness to write a preface. Edward Hicks's example, Parry concluded, "is worthy of being held in remembrance, and indeed, to take him all in all, I view him as one of the brightest examples of his day."[11]

In January 1850, Susan Hicks Carle wrote from New York City to let the family know of Henry Hicks's entire satisfaction with the Memoirs and of his endorsement of the use of initials only in references to individuals. She mentioned that Benjamin Ferris wished to look the manuscript over before agreeing to write the preface.[12] In the end Ferris declined, for reasons unknown, to contribute a preface; apparently the substitution of initials for

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cord among us," a complaint should be lodged with his Monthly Meeting so that the person complained of could be dealt with and, if necessary, disowned (p. 15). Clearly the Discipline left these matters in the hands of the author before publication, and in the event that his work proved to be productive of discord, provided disciplinary measures. In other words "prior censorship" was not sanctioned. Of course nothing was specifically said about posthumous publications, so that Amos Willets could only appeal to the "intent" behind the *Rules of Discipline.* EDITOR.]

[11] Isaac Parry to Benjamin Ferris, November 6, 1849, Edward Hicks MSS, Friends Historical Library.

[12] Hicks Collection, Newtown, Pennsylvania.

names, originally his own idea, was not enough to make him willing to involve himself openly in a concern so uncertain of general acceptance among Friends. Ultimately a memorial minute of Makefield Monthly Meeting supplied the place of a preface.

The book finally appeared in 1851 from the press of Merrihew and Thompson in Philadelphia.[13] One hundred and one years later, in 1952, the manuscript of the *Memoirs* was presented to the Friends Historical Library by a great-granddaughter, Hannah Hicks Lee, and her husband, J. Stanley Lee, of Newtown, who had inherited it from Susan Worstall Hicks, daughter of the minister's son Isaac. Save for marks in the writing of Edward Hicks, it is entirely in the fine bold hand of Oliver Hough, the scrivener. Except for three pages of foolscap containing the trial draft of the beginning of the Memoirs in the author's own hand and virtually identical with the parallel Hough pages, nothing of the discarded original manuscript survives. The close similarity of those few pages (also now in the Friends Historical Library, the gift of Edward Barnsley) to the published work suggests that only where Hicks's wayward syntax, spelling, and punctuation required, did the scrivener depart from the lines written by the vigilant and exacting Edward Hicks. Thus did the Memoirs, surviving Hicks's own doubts and the misgivings of his friends, finally achieve publication.

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[13] The precise date of publication, the size of the edition, and whether all the copies were distributed free of charge — none of these facts is known.

THE PRIMITIVE PAINTER AS POET

(With an Attempted Solution of an Iconographical Puzzle in Certain of Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdoms*)

By FREDERICK B. TOLLES

Before the present century the Quaker poet was almost as rare a bird as the Quaker painter. Thomas Ellwood, John Scott of Amwell, Bernard Barton, John Greenleaf Whittier—name these four and you have named just about all who have found their way into the histories and anthologies of English and American poetry. And one even feels a doubt that the first three would have gained admittance except for their friendships with John Milton, Dr. Johnson, and Charles Lamb respectively. Of course there have been others—dabblers in verse, rhymesters, poetasters—and it is with two of these that this note deals. Nevertheless, it is clear that traditionally Friends have regarded the writing of poetry as a "creaturely activity" like painting, to be pursued, if at all, only to the accompaniment of remorse of conscience. The beauty of holiness, one might say, has been so dazzling that it has blinded them to the holiness of beauty.[1]

Edward Hicks has emerged in recent years from the obscurity of a simple country coach-painter and sign-painter to a recognized niche of honor as a "primitive painter" alongside Henri Rousseau, the French customs agent, and Horace Pippin, the Negro porter. In bringing to light the full text of a little-known effort of his in verse, it is not my purpose to suggest that he deserves similar attention as a "primitive poet," with literary virtues akin to those of John Clare, the peasant poet, say, or James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd." Except for a few lines or phrases which flash out with a simple, unexpected beauty, no intrinsic merit is claimed for these rugged rhymes. My initial purpose in rescuing them from oblivion

[1] Edward Hicks's *Memoirs* reflect his agonizings of spirit over his love of painting (see, for example, pp. 12, 31, 71), and Alice Ford has shown (supra) how these gnawing doubts could extend even to the traditional form of Quaker literary expression, the Journal. See my *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York, 1960), chap. V, for a fuller discussion of the Quaker attitude towards the arts.

was simply to show how the Quaker concerns which found such fresh and winsome expression in his *Peaceable Kingdoms* found parallel, if not memorable utterance in verse. An incidental purpose, which gradually became more important as I examined the poem in its context, was to determine what light, if any, it casts upon the puzzling iconography of certain of Hicks's paintings—the so-called *Peaceable Kingdoms with Quakers Bearing Banners.*

I

Some explanation of the circumstances of composition is necessary. In October 1839, Edward Hicks received a letter written in heroic couplets from Samuel Johnson, one of his Bucks County friends. Johnson (1763-1843) was a Quaker, a retired farmer and erstwhile hatter, who had taken to writing verse in his old age.[2] Hicks and Johnson had much in common—a rural background, a limited education, a vocational background in the manual arts, and a preference for Elias Hicks's brand of Quakerism. But they differed on one crucial point: their attitudes towards the abolition of slavery, the dominant moral and social concern of the day. Their differences mirrored a basic, non-theological conflict of opinion among Friends.[3] Johnson was apparently an activist; he was willing to work with the radical, non-Quaker reformers who, having seized the torch of abolitionism from the hands of the pioneer Quaker opponents of slavery, were carrying it vigorously into the fields of politics and agitation. Hicks, on the other hand, though no less devoted to the antislavery cause, was one of those more traditional Friends who, trusting in the moral power of example, believed that Friends' role was to bear a "quiet testimony," avoiding the snares and pitfalls of association with radical agitators.

The letter from Johnson, dated October 3, 1839, was written on an antislavery letterhead, showing a young Negro slave on his knees at the auction block. Johnson had inscribed the verses "To Edward Hicks on his proposition for painting an Historical piece

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[2] See the "Biographic Sketch" by Ann Johnson Paxson, prefixed to his posthumously published volume of collected poems *The Triple Wreath* (Philadelphia, 1844), pp. iii-x; and Ann J. Paxson, *Memoirs of the Johnson Family* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 29-35.

[3] See Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven, 1950), chaps. VIII-IX.

commemorative of the progress of religious Liberty."[4] "Dear Brother," it commenced:

> A brother's hand now sweeps the speaking string,
> Imagination takes the Muse's wing,
> And fain would all my friendly feelings move
> To greet a brother with a brother's love.

The burden of the letter was the poet's impatience with the passive role of many Friends in the antislavery movement and a summons to Hicks to lend his powerful ministry to the crusade.

> To hearts devoted to the cause of Heav'n,
> The still small voice in mercy will be giv'n.
> It has gone forth abroad upon our land,
> Be thou her Wilberforce[5] and firmly stand;
> Assert the rights of this[6] long injur'd race—
> Join those philanthropists, their cause embrace:
> He who looks on when blood is spilt,
> Will oft be thought partaker of the guilt. . . .

All over the world, declared the Bucks County bard, justice and mercy were awakening, and "truth's flag" was unfurled—except in the American South:

> Her sinful course brave "Britain" felt and mourn'd
> And her free land to reason has return'd;
> The monster Slavery vanquish'd in her Isles,[7]
> And tears of woe converted into smiles.

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[4] The original manuscript is still extant in private hands. A transcript made by Alice Ford is in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. It was published in Philadelphia in 1845, together with Hicks's response as *Letter from Samuel Johnson, to Edward Hicks; with His Reply.* Quotations here are from the printed version. Textual differences between the two versions are minor.

[5] William Wilberforce (1759-1833), British statesman and humanitarian, who with Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) led the antislavery movement in England, pushing the abolition of the slave trade through Parliament in 1807.

[6] The printed version reads: "his," but this must be a typographical error. The MS reads: "this."

[7] The MS has a footnote reference at this point: "See Thomas & Kemble's 'West Indies'" (James A. Thome and J. Horace Kimball, *Emancipation in the West Indies* [New York, 1838]). The slaves in the British colonies were freed by Act of Parliament in 1833.

And e'en the Spaniard in Columbia's land,[8]
Broke ev'ry chain to justice contraband;
The bloody Turk unsatiable of war,
No longer drags his captive at his car[9]; —
While Southern slaveites rivet tight the chain,
As misers grasp with eager hand their gain:
Still Abolitionists hope their hearts to draw
With silken cords, within the moral law. . . .

Johnson closed his letter with an appeal to Hicks:

In truth's simplicity with humble views,
I've shewn a path and bid my brother choose;
If I have made the path of duty plain,
I shall rejoice —I have not plead in vain. . . .

To this effusion Edward Hicks replied in laboring couplets on October 8:[10]

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[8] The MS, according to the transcript, reads: "Columbus' land." This raises the question whether Johnson meant Spain ("Columbus' land") or the Spanish colonies in the New World ("Columbia's land"). Hicks took him to mean Spain. The legal status of slavery was ambiguous there; in the Spanish colonies its burden and incidence were relatively light.

[9] Note by Samuel Johnson: "The revolted Turkish Pasha." It is not clear what he is referring to — perhaps to rumors of the reforms of the young Sultan, Abdul Mejid, under the influence of Reshid Pasha, although these were not codified and formally promulgated until November 1839. Or perhaps the "revolted Turkish Pasha" was Mehmed Ali Pasha, Governor of Egypt, who had revolted against the Sultan in 1831 and was saved from Turkish vengeance in July 1839 by the great powers of Europe acting collectively. (I owe these suggestions to Professor Roderic H. Davidson of George Washington University.)

[10] Hicks's reply was obscurely published in Philadelphia in 1845, along with Johnson's companion poem (see note 4 supra). The pamphlet is extremely rare; no writer on Hicks seems to have been aware of it, though Alice Ford prints some excerpts from the original manuscript, then in private hands, in her *Edward Hicks: Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp. 89-90. The manuscript is now in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, the gift of Edward Barnsley, its former owner. With its combination of orthographic crudity and seriousness of purpose, the original has a rather charming "primitive" quality, akin to that of his paintings. The text of the poem is here reproduced in full, however, from the printed version, in which spelling and grammar have been tidied up, presumably by Johnson. Where the printed text differs significantly from the original manuscript, the variant readings are given in footnotes.

DEAR BROTHER:—

From Thomas Ellwood[11] down to old friend Weeks,[12]
The Muse has blush'd to see such blund'ring freaks
Made in her name by men of scanty brains,
Whose verse may jingle but like rusty chains;
Unlike my friend's melodious solemn lyre,
Breathing in every line Poetic fire.
This lovely letter sacred music graced,
Like well chimed bells in reg'lar order placed:
While Afric's cause employs his ev'ning ray,
Like Venus ling'ring in the rear of day;
Inferior folks with only monkeys art,
May imitate, but never life impart;
Future inventions tax their little brains,[13]
And have at last their labour for their pains;
While my dear friend with grave satiric[14] scan,
May say in Nathan's words, "thou art the man."
A Saviour came truth's glorious cause to plead—
A Saviour for the fallen soul did bleed—
A Saviour wept when priests his love denied,
And for the captive *soul* a *Saviour* died!!!
Proclaiming loud the power of glorious truth,
To free desponding age and thoughtless youth.
And if by truth the soul from sin is free'd,
Christ says that soul is truly free indeed.
O may my friend this glorious freedom teach,—
This heavenly truth in heavenly language preach;
O may he in the evening of his day,
Like loving John to friends of Plumstead say,
"Dear children love each other and obey;
With pop'lar 'pinions [15] all connection break,

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[11] Thomas Ellwood's major poetical work was his *Davideis: The Life of David, King of Israel* (1712).

[12] Refine Weekes (1759-1823), a New York Friend, published *The Age of Liberty* (1820), a trenchant abolitionist poem, and a number of historical poems, including *The Life of William Penn* (1822).

[13] The MS reads: "Torture invention[,] tax there [sic] little brains," which makes more sense and seems to confirm the suspicion that Johnson or someone else transcribed the poem for publication.

[14] The MS reads: "sarcastic."

[15] The MS reads: "Idols." Hicks has appended a footnote reference to the first Epistle of John v. 21, and has also written in the margin opposite these lines: "Politticle abbolitionizm, Temperenc[e], &c." In his *Memoirs,* p. 272, he speaks disparagingly of "political abolitionists, whose zealous exertions,, notwithstanding the sincerity of their motives, appear . . . to be obstructing the peaceable kingdom of Christ." See also *Memoirs,* p. 121.

DETAIL OF THE SWARTHMORE PEACEABLE KINGDOM

And be no longer Ephraim's half-baked cake;[16]
Deny yourselves, take up your daily cross—
Esteem the friendship of the world but dross;
These great conditions Jesus has laid down,
By which alone you gain the immortal crown."
In this straight path our early friends did walk—
Not joining with the world in idle talk;
And hence preserving round them spiritual health,
They 'voided foolish schemes for gaining wealth;[17]—
Keeping this point, all mixture they suppress'd,—
In silent patience they their souls possess'd;
United thus they shook the Dragon's seat,[18]
And Anti-christ's whole army did defeat;
Till priests where[19] flying from their fallen shrine,
And soldiers could their bloody trade resign.
No usurer[20] then the industrious poor oppress'd,
But earthly goods in common were possess'd.
When brotherly love rules in its wide domains,
Celestial charity triumphant reigns:—
Now here is freedom with her flag unfurl'd,
That quite astonished an admiring world.
Come then dear brother, join this christian cause,
And advocate thy blessed Saviour's laws;[21]
Keep His great precepts ever in thy sight,
And with his humble Fishermen unite;
For he's a freeman whom the truth makes free,
All else are slaves what e'er their lot[22] may be;

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[16] "Ephraim, he hath mixed himself among the people; Ephraim is a cake not turned." Hosea vii. 8.

[17] At this point in the MS Hicks has a footnote: "See Mulberry speculation." It refers to the rage for growing mulberry trees and raising silkworms which ran through Bucks County circa 1837-39. See W.W.H.Davis, *History of Bucks County* (Philadelphia, 1905), II, 389-390; George MacReynolds, *Place Names in Bucks County, Pennsylvania* (Doylestown, Pennsylvania, 1942). pp. 297-299. I owe these references to Mrs. Paul Niemeyer, Librarian, Bucks County Historical Society.

[18] In the MS this couplet reads:

United thus they shook the Idols seat
And all his beastly worshipers could beat.

[19] Hicks regularly wrote "where" for "were." The transcriber or printer neglected to correct it here.

[20] Edward Hicks (like Ezra Pound in our own day!) often fulminated against usurers. See *Memoirs,* pp. 51, 196, 216, 307-313.

[21] The preceding two lines are not in the MS. The two following lines were transposed from an earlier position in the original version.

[22] The MS reads: "parts."

What e'er their talents, learning, wealth, or fame —
Self undenied forever is the same,—
Forever chains his captive to his *"car,"*
And reigns tremendous like some *God* of *"war."*
In Afric's wilds, as on Columbia's plains,
He loads his menials with his galling chains;
And vaunting[23] Britons ever boast'd pride,
Is made subservient to this selfish guide;
Behold her *nobles, princes, dukes,* and *kings*—
And lordly *bishops,* with their deadly stings;
All locust-like, eat up the industrious poor,
Inflicting wounds no "Wilberforce"[24] can cure;
While thousands fussing round their gaudy *Queen,*[25]
The *poor* are starving in their streets unseen;
The *Irish peasant* on his bed of straw,
Starving to death a Quaker preacher saw;[26]
His meagre *daughter* faint for want of meat,
For one long day but one potato eat;
Yet Britons boast the *freedom* of her slaves,
And wafts her wind across the Atlantic waves:
Vain empty boast! and must she still deceive
The unsuspecting, and the enlighten'd grieve?

My friend had reference to some state of Spain,
Where justice triumphs o'er oppression's reign;
And as he brings a Spaniard to the view,
I must confess I'm pleased with something new;
That Spain where priestcraft's ebon sceptre sway'd,
From age to age, and dreadful havoc made;
Where thousands in her Inquisitions died,
While mercy wept and suffering justice cried:
But still perhaps its Mexico thou'st praised,
Where Santa Anna's bloody freedom raised;[27]

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[23] The MS is hard to decipher but seems to read: "gostering." *Query:* Could this word be related to the obsolete Americanism "gostration"—the action of putting on airs? See Sir William Craigie and James R. Hurlbert, eds. *Dictionary of American English* (Chicago, 1938-1944).

[24] The MS reads: "statesmen."

[25] The MS reads: "vixen Queen"! The young Victoria had ascended the throne in 1837.

[26] "Elizabeth Cogshell when in Ireland was an eye and ear witness to the fact."—Hicks's note in the MS version. Elizabeth Coggeshall (1770-1851), of Newport, Rhode Island, was a Quaker minister who had accompanied Hannah Barnard on her turbulent visit to Ireland in 1798; she visited that country again in 1814.

[27] Antonio López de Santa Anna, dictatorial President of Mexico, was

Whose government as restless as the waves,
May suit a treach'rous, cruel band of slaves.
Ah! poor new Spain, the great mistake thou made,
Thou kept dark priestcraft's cursed cruel trade;
And while a partial freedom thou proclaims,
Thy soul is bound in superstition's chains;
No wonder dark confusion strikes our view,
From Buenos Ayres through to all Peru:
Thy greatest benefactor San-Martiene,[28]
Stands execrated now, and scarcely seen;
Ingratitude that dark potentous cloud,
Hangs o'er his head, or forms his funeral shroud.
Thy liberty is Anarchy disguis'd,
Whose bloody mandates ought to be despised.
We envy not thy warmer climes, that lay
Much nearer to the lum'nous source of day;
Nor in our chilly atmosphere bemoan,
Though o'er our heads the frozen Pleiads shone;
While *liberty,* both *civil* and *divine,*
Plays on our *rocks,* and o'er our *mountains* shine.

The illustrious Penn the seeds of freedom sow'd,
A Franklin watered, and the tree soon grow'd;
Its spreading top resplendent with its fruit,
Its fair proportion, and its generous root
Was seen afar; when thousands to its shade
Repaired for shelter, or protections aid;
When lo! a bad disease was soon descried,
On southern limbs the very fruit was dy'd;
The bloody litchens dire disease did stick
To all those limbs, and pierced them to the quick.
That faithful watchman, bold, eccentric Lay,[29]
Saw the sad sight, and making no delay,
Ran to and fro like one a little crazed,
The weak alarming, and the strong amazed;
Till Benezet and Wolman's[30] milder eye
Caught the bright gleam, and saw the scarlet dye;
Their star-like radiance shone with steady ray,—
Their christian labour pointed out the way,

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especially unpopular in the United States at this time because he was held responsible for the slaughter of the Texans at the Alamo in 1836.

[28] José de San Martin, liberator of Chile and Peru.

[29] Benjamin Lay (1677-1759), early Quaker abolitionist of Abington, Pennsylvania, who used spectacular methods to dramatize his concern.

[30] Anthony Benezet (1713-1784) and John Woolman (1720-1772), the leading Quaker opponents of slavery in the eighteenth century.

By telling friends they must the example set,
And heal those parts that near their dwellings met.
With due submission friends their counsel heard,
And free'd their slaves obedient to the word;
Sweet peace, the Saviour's legacy of Love,
Descended on them from the realms above;
Then Mercy smiled, and Justice sat serene,
While Heavenly glory fill'd the space between.
High on the mount, conspicuous to the sight,
Friends stood alone, environed round with light;
There let them stand, and let the people know,
They *will* not *mingle* with the *world* below.
That Turkish justice to which my friend now points,
Seems like a man that's palsied in the joints;
Whose only active member is his tongue,
While every other nerve remains unstrung.
What! Turkish freedom!! why the poet raves,
Are not their women all a set of slaves?
Is not the noblest, loveliest of God's works,
Most shamefully treated by these bloody *Turks?*
And can my friend such cruel monsters bring,
To shame his country or increase the sting?
Columbia's *sons* the best of *husbands* are,
No other nation can with them compare;
Columbia's *daughters* are the best of *wives,*
Their freedom is coeval with their lives;
And if they seem to wish a further task,
I'll grant them all, and more than all they ask:
On *woman's* mercy the *whole man* depends,
The *first,* the *last,* the *best* of *earthly friends.*

That ladder which the youthful Patriarch saw,
That reached the heaven of heavens with holy awe,
On whose bright steps the Angels did descend,
Poor, *helpless hopeless* mortals to befriend;
Raising them upwards to the blissful seat,
Their Light, their Life, their Saviour there to meet.
Much might be said on this delightful theme,
With deep instruction and no idle dream;
But time's dealt out in particles to one,
Whose span[31] of life, on earth, is nearly run—
Who hopes to die at the bless'd Saviour's feet,
In self abasement and repentance meet;
O may his precious brother meet him there,
To join in fervent and effectual prayer. E.H.

[31] The MS reads: "sands."

Samuel Johnson wrote another verse epistle to Hicks which seems to belong in this sequence. It is without date, but I am inclined to assign it a date *after* the other two and to regard it as bringing this poetical correspondence to a close. Like Johnson's other letter, it bore the title "To Edward Hicks on his proposition for painting an Historical piece commemorative of the progress of religious Liberty." Even if it does not follow the other two letters, it still suggests that the ideas the two friends had discussed were germinating in the painter's mind and taking the form of a plan for a painting on a theme much grander than the abolition of Negro slavery.[32] Johnson addressed his friend as poet to painter, having apparently concluded that painting, not poetry, was Hicks's divine vocation, and exhorted him to persevere in his high resolve to dedicate a canvas to the celebration of freedom:

> To THEE the pencil's graphic arts belong,
> And I, at humble distance, court the song;
> Fain would I see thy powerful art portray'd,
> To lend to Liberty its generous aid.

With broad and sweeping strokes he then sketched an outline for Hicks's projected canvas, a condensed history of liberty in the Western World. The painter, he proposed, should begin, not with the obscure Antediluvian era or even with the years after the Flood, as chronicled in the Old Testament,

> But when the glorious Son of Heaven descends,
> Sent by Omnipotence for gracious ends;
> Then was reveal'd thro' Him the Christian plan,
> So rich with blessings to his creature man,
> There on the mount the rising flame began,
> Warm'd the Apostles, spread from man to man,
> The Heavenly ray expanding from its birth,
> With holy radiance mark'd its path on earth,
> Till bigotry, dread foe to all that's dear
> In Christian liberty, then grasp'd the spear,

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[32] The poem was published in Johnson's *The Triple Wreath,* pp. 80-82. The MS is in private hands, but a transcript, including passages not in the printed version, is in the Friends Historical Library, the gift of Alice Ford. I am aware that a good case can be made for assigning this poem an earlier date. I hope some other Hicks enthusiast will make that case in print so that readers can compare and evaluate the two theories. It is often by the testing of two rival hypotheses that truth emerges in history.

With potent malice the dire weapon hurl'd,
And half unpeopl'd all the Christian world.

During the long night of apostasy which followed, however, some gleams of Christian liberty had appeared: "Luther saw the radiance from afar"; it had "half illuminated Calvin's mind"; Michael Servetus, the Spanish heretic, saw it in full glory and died for it on a "flaming pyre" in Geneva in 1553; the Huguenots were slain by thousands for their testimony to it.

Of course George Fox, "the meek, humble Shepherd," would find a place of honor, along with Robert Barclay, William Penn, and other Quaker contenders for liberty. Below them, according to Johnson, should stand "the friends of Afric's liberty," and foremost among them Benjamin Lay, for

The rough enthusiast pioneer'd the way;
With wound fictitious, and with crimson'd hand,
Arous'd the slumbering feeling of the land.[33]

Johnson agreed with his friend's suggestion that Anthony Benezet, another Quaker activist, whose antislavery utterances were directed to the world at large, should stand with the melodramatic Lay, but significantly failed to mention John Woolman, whose quieter testimony was chiefly aimed at the Society of Friends. The omission doubtless reflects the differing attitudes of the activist Johnson and the quietist Hicks towards the antislavery movement. In place of Woolman the poet proposed the names of Wilberforce and Clarkson, non-Quaker pioneers in the British crusade.

In the unpublished manuscript version of the poem Johnson went on to say that George Washington, for all his contribution to the cause of political freedom, would of course find no place in a Quaker's painting devoted to the progress of religious liberty:

What Washington & his compatriots dar'd
Must not with Christian warfare be compar'd;
Nor should thy canvas one small niche afford
To gild the fame of Soldier or the sword.

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[33] In the printed version (p. 81) there is a reference at this point to Roberts Vaux's biography of Lay (Philadelphia, 1815). Vaux tells the well-known story of Lay's dramatic gesture with sword and bladder of pokeberry juice in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1738 on pp. 25-27.

A loyal follower of Elias Hicks, he proceeded in the original version to suggest that, as the opponent of Orthodoxy within the Society of Friends,

> The Apostle *Hicks's* venerable face
> On the foreground should fill conspicuous place.

"Ranked in the front" with the Long Island preacher should stand some of his most vocal partisans — Friends such as John Comly, "the Comforts," and Thomas Wetherald.[34] Johnson's conclusion was another resounding exhortation to his friend, the Newtown sign- and wagon-painter:

> Paint what thou canst upon the living scroll,
> And pour a ray of genius round the whole.

II

So ended this poetical exchange between the two Bucks County Friends. But it had an important sequel, to which Alice Ford first called attention in her biography of Edward Hicks in 1952. Noting Johnson's reference to Hicks's proposal to paint a picture "commemorative of the progress of religious liberty," she observed that "Edward executed no such painting, at least to the best of anyone's knowledge," but pointed out that the passage in Hicks's reply beginning: "Their star-like radiance shone with steady ray" and ending: "They will not mingle with the world below" did clarify an iconographical mystery of several 'Kingdoms'."[35] The paintings in question are those *Peaceable Kingdoms* — of which six are now known to exist — in which the left-hand portion of the canvas is dominated, not by Penn's Treaty with the Indians, as is usual, but by a pyramidal grouping of some thirty to fifty men and women (mostly men, mostly in Quaker plain dress) bearing a long streamer with the words: "Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy. Peace on earth and good will to men." In the middle distance on a hillside are

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[34] John Comly (1773-1850), of Byberry, was second only to Elias Hicks among the anti-Orthodox leaders in 1827. Perhaps "the Comforts" were Stephen (b. 1773) and Samuel (1776-1862), both strong Hicksites of Bucks County. Thomas Wetherald (1791-1832), who came to the United States to settle in 1819, was a powerful Quaker preacher, many of whose sermons were published.

[35] *Edward Hicks,* pp. 89-90.

some indistinct figures in flowing robes and what appears to be a circle of seven figures around a fire. In the far background, silhouetted against the sky, are thirteen white-clad figures standing upon an eminence with light streaming from the central figure.[36] (See enlarged reproduction opposite page 16.)

About the meaning of these paintings there has been much speculation. Frederic Newlin Price in 1945 called the Swarthmore version a *Peaceable Kingdom with Famous Men."*[37] But who are they? Alice Ford in 1952 described the scene on the left as a "Pendle Hill vision" or "a vision of Pendle Hill, England."[38] But if this is intended to represent George Fox's momentous vision in 1652 of the growth of the Society of Friends, it is odd that the "people in white raiment" are atop the hill, not down "by the river's side" where Fox saw them.[39] If, on the other hand, this is Hicks's own "Pendle Hill vision," its meaning is still to be explained. In the catalogue of the 1960 Williamsburg exhibition these canvases are labeled *Peaceable Kingdoms with Quakers Bearing Banners.*[40] But is it clear that all the figures are Friends? By no means all of them are in Quaker plain dress. Mary Black in a most sensitive article in 1960 calls this series of *Peaceable Kingdoms* "the most fascinating and provocative of all." On various grounds, chiefly stylistic, emerging from her thorough study of Hicks's developing technique as a painter, she dates them between the years 1827 and 1835 and links them with the Great Separation of 1827.

> Hicks's inner torment due to the separation of 1827 [she writes] is visible in this group. A united band of Quakers bearing a banner down from Calvary, depicted at the upper left of the canvas, is representative of the end of Christ's temporal existence. The moment of joining again with

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[36] Two of these paintings are in public collections: the Friends Historical Library (reproduced opp. p. 1) and the Winterthur Museum; the rest are in private hands. Photographs of all six are in the Friends Historical Library. All vary slightly in the disposition of the figures. In at least one there are two groups around a fire. On some of the paintings the streamer carries additional words, such as "Mind the Light."

[37] *Edward Hicks, 1780-1849* (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania: The Benjamin West Society, 1945), p. 7.

[38] *Edward Hicks,* pp. xii, 42.

[39] *Journal of George Fox,* ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge, England, 1952), pp. 103-104.

[40] Pp. 12-13.

the tripartite God (the ideal, absolute example of the inner Light) is linked by a banner to the heavenly host heralding the beginning of Christ's earthly existence. The schism separated the Quakers into groups; but according to Hicks they are bound together by a ribbon of peace.[41]

An ingenious interpretation, but still not entirely clear or convincing. The mystery, one feels, has not yet been completely resolved.

Close study of the six known versions of this painting has led the author of this note — with grateful acknowledgments to Alice Ford and Mary Black, whose comments set him on the trail — to propose a new hypothesis. Stated most broadly, it is this: that these six *Peaceable Kingdoms* actually represent Edward Hicks's attempts to execute a painting "commemorative of the progress of Religious Liberty" in accordance with the suggestions made in the poems.

The first hurdle to be cleared before accepting this hypothesis is the problem of dating the paintings. Discussion of this question has hitherto hinged on the understanding that the only canvas in the group that can be dated — namely, the one which the painter originally presented to his nephew Edward Hicks Phipps — was painted in 1832, seven years *before* the exchange of poems, and the consequent assumption that they were all done around that date or even earlier. But careful examination of the source of this crucial date — a label on the back of the canvas — reveals that it is actually 1837. The further fact that the label gives every indication of having been attached to the canvas many years later suggests that its writer (probably Edward Hicks Phipps) may have erred by a few years in his recollections, and that the correct date could be 1839.[42] At least, there is no documentary evidence that the pictures as a group could not have been painted in 1839 or thereafter.[43]

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[41] "& a Little Child Shall Lead Them," *Arts in Virginia,* I (1960), 24-27.

[42] The label reads: "Edward Hicks Phipps/ presented to him by his beloved uncle/ Edward Hicks in the year of our/ Lord 1837." The figure 7 is written over another figure (not decipherable). This could account for the earlier misreading of the date and could also suggest that the writer was fumbling in his memory for the exact date. I was allowed to examine this painting through the courtesy of Mrs. William G. Thayer, Jr., its present owner.

[43] It is, of course, equally possible that the correct date, as originally

Having passed — or by-passed — this hurdle, let us proceed with a hypothetical reconstruction of the circumstances leading to the creation of the paintings and then determine how closely their content can be made to fit the hypothesis. My thesis is that Edward Hicks, struck by the obvious gap between his friend's activist view of the proper Quaker approach to the slavery question and his own more quietist view, began considering the possibility of expressing his own conception in the medium in which, despite his occasional misgivings, he felt most at home — the medium of paint and canvas. His friend had challenged him to lift his powerful voice in the ministers' gallery or on the platform on behalf of freedom for the slave; but he knew in his heart that his most potent sermons were preached with brush in hand. As he pondered his duty and discussed it with his friend, his conception of the picture broadened: not only must he show that the Quaker's role in the antislavery movement was to stand apart from the world and set an example of purity, but he must look beyond the movement for the freedom of the slave and portray the history of liberty from its origin in the teaching and example of Christ through the vicissitudes of eighteen centuries to his own day, when the United States in the political sphere and the Hicksite Friends in the religious were carrying it to its apogee. As his vision matured, he incorporated some of Johnson's suggestions and, as we shall see, rejected others. Finally, late in 1839, he set up his easel and began to paint.

He started, because it came naturally, with his favorite motif— the wolf dwelling with the lamb, the leopard lying down with the kid, the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child leading them. Having filled the right-hand half of the canvas with his distinctive Biblical menagerie, he set to work on the left-hand portion -- the space he usually filled with Penn's Treaty with the Indians. In accordance with the iconographic principle that every element in a painting of this sort has meaning, is there for a purpose, we ought to be able to attach a name to every figure, or at least to the more prominent ones. Actually, I can positively identify only the group of white-robed figures on the hilltop in the background and one of the individuals in the front row of the large

written, could have been 1832, or indeed that the writer of the label had a faulty memory and should not be trusted in any case.

group in the foreground. The rest must be speculation, yet it is possible, within the framework provided by the poems, to offer reasonable speculations which will at least provide a rationale of the paintings.

Beyond question the thirteen figures in white, silhouetted against the sky, are Christ, the Saviour who came "truth's glorious cause to plead" (Hicks), and the Twelve Apostles. In every one of the six known versions the hilltop figures number thirteen with light streaming from the central One. As Johnson put it in his suggestions to Hicks:

> There on the mount the rising flame began,
> Warm'd the Apostles, spread from man to man,
> The Heavenly ray expanding from its birth,
> With holy radiance mark'd its path on earth.[44]

The banner, or streamer, coming down through the centuries from the Mount to Hicks's own time, represents Christian freedom, "her flag unfurl'd/ That quite astonished an admiring world" (Hicks).

The shadowy images in the middle distance remain baffling, but one can offer reasonable conjectures. Could the mysterious robed figures (three in some pictures, more in others) represent Hicks's notion of how ministers of the Gospel looked at the time of the Reformation? Could two of them be intended to stand for Martin Luther, who "saw the radiance from afar" (Johnson), and John Calvin, whose mind was "half illuminated" by the Light? And the still more obscure figures grouped around a fire? Could they be intended to represent the martyrdom of Servetus on his "flaming pyre" and (in the paintings which have two such groups) the mass martyrdom of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, both suggested by Johnson?

As we move forward in the picture and the figures become slightly clearer, we can pass from almost pure speculation to something like certainty. The massed figures, separated from the rest of the world by a jagged chasm, would seem to be those Friends — and a few selected non-Friends — who, having "freed their slaves, obedient to the word" (Hicks), stood "conspicuous to the sight," exemplars of liberty who would not "mingle with the world be-

[44] Alice Ford was the first to make this seemingly obvious identification in print. See her *Edward Hicks,* p. xii.

low." "High on the mount, environed round with light"—in several versions the figures in the back row are definitely standing on higher ground—stands a small group of Quakers, set off from the others below. One of them—a rather stout Friend with arms outstretched—bears a remarkable resemblance in posture and proportions to the William Penn of Benjamin West's Indian Treaty painting. With "the illustrious Penn" are two, sometimes three or four others, one usually standing with upraised hand as if preaching, another always holding out a book. Could these be Fox, the preacher, and Barclay, the author of the *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*? Or are they Woolman and Benezet, who "pointed out the way,/ By telling Friends they must the example set" (Hicks)? In most of the paintings one can also make out a diminutive figure in Quaker dress who could well be the tiny hunchbacked Benjamin Lay, with whose picture in Roberts Vaux's biography Hicks was undoubtedly familiar.

In the first row, where the figures are clearest, one positive identification can be made. The man in Quaker garb standing sidewise to the plane of the picture (just to the right of the central figure in the Swarthmore version) is unmistakably the painter's cousin Elias Hicks, the "Apostle Hicks" whose "venerable face" Johnson wanted to see in the foreground. The long hair, the prominent nose, the high boots are enough to suggest a well-known contemporary full-length silhouette of Elias Hicks,[45] but the handkerchief in his hand, clearly visible in the silhouette, sharply, and no doubt deliberately, accented in every one of the Hicks paintings, puts it beyond doubt that this particular profile drawing was Edward Hicks's model.

As for the rest of the figures in the foreground, we must again resort to speculation. But following my hypothesis about the relationship between the poems and the paintings, I venture to suggest that the figure in the middle of the front row—the hatless man in powdered wig and "worldly dress"—is none other than George Washington. To be sure, Samuel Johnson had advised, had perhaps protested against, Hicks's including him. But Hicks admired Wash-

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[45] Often reproduced, most recently in *Bliss Forbush: Liberal Quaker* (New York, 1956), opp. p. 218. The original was printed by John Hopper of New York in 1830.

ington extravagantly: in one of his sermons he compared the General to George Fox as a self-made man whose divine mission it was, not to revive primitive Christianity, but to establish the American Republic,

> a system of government the most healthy and happy, the most successful and generous, now under heaven, whose benevolent institutions are becoming more and more the admiration of the world; and while virtue, liberty and independence continue to be esteemed among the children of men, the name of Washington will be pronounced with veneration and respect by millions of intelligent beings.[46]

I cannot say which of the many likenesses of Washington was Hicks's model, but I have little doubt that it could be identified, just as I feel sure that a careful study of contemporary drawings and paintings of early nineteenth-century Friends and other abolitionists will enable us some day to distinguish John Comly, Samuel or Stephen Comfort, Thomas Wetherald, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Clarkson, or some of them.[47] For it is well known that Hicks found it hard to paint without a picture by a trained artist to use as a model.[48] This fact, incidentally, helps explain why it is impossible specifically to locate George Fox, John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet: no portrait of any of these great Quakers was available to him—or to us.[49]

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[46] "A Word of Exhortation" in *Memoirs,* p. 357. This passage is a typical early nineteenth-century paean to Washington as the founder of the nation which was destined to carry political freedom and democracy to its highest peak. Cf. Marcus Cunliffe, *George Washington, Man and Monument* (New York, 1960), chap. II; Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. *The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860* (New York, 1944), chap. II.

[47] Someone, surely, can identify the distinctive figure in black with stovepipe hat and umbrella, who stands behind Elias Hicks. I hope that anyone who can offer further identifications will write me at the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

[48] See Julius Held, "Edward Hicks and the Tradition," *Art Quarterly,* XIV (1951), 121-136.

[49] The only likeness of Fox that was well-known in America in 1839 was Thomas Clio Rickman's engraving of the "Honthorst" portrait of Fox in ecstasy, published in 1799, a picture, one feels, unlikely to commend itself to Hicks. The print of Samuel Chinn's prim and vapid imaginary portrait was not published till 1838, probably too late to have served Hicks as a model. See John L. Nickalls, *Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain,* Supplement No. 29 to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* (London and Philadelphia), pp. 7-8.

So much for the evidence—some of it positive and, I believe, unquestionable, some of it negative, some of it admittedly speculative—for the hypothesis that these particular paintings of the *Peaceable Kingdom* represent Edward Hicks's efforts, with help from his old friend Samuel Johnson, to realize on canvas his conception of the progress of liberty. If the case is strong enough to support and validate the hypothesis, I would propose a new title for these paintings—*"Peaceable Kingdoms Dedicated to the Progress of Liberty."*

WHITTIER'S QUEST FOR HUMILITY

By JOHN J. MCALEER*

Whittier's success as a poet crowned the last third of a long and busy life. The age that acclaimed him saw him as a humble, self-effacing idealist who, with agreeable art, purveyed good will in easily retained verses. The present age, finding "His manhood better than his verses," to cite his own appraisal of Bryant, has felt that Whittier's celebrated meekness hurt his art by making him too compliant to the demands of his editors. Yet how are we to reconcile this image of a diffident poet and benign humanitarian with the youth who brazenly courted fame and the "fighting Quaker" of maturer years who spoke out fearlessly for the truth he believed in?

Shortly after Whittier's death his official biographer, Samuel Pickard, said of him, "It would be a mistake . . . to suppose that gentleness was a necessity of his nature; it was in reality the result of a resolute self-control, and the habitual government of a tempestuous spirit."[1] Pickard's assertion must have given his readers gentle amusement, for it was documented only by the modest avowals of Whittier himself, and the familiar record of his long and blameless life stood opposed to it. Yet many of Whittier's unpublished letters, written to editors and literary friends, confirm and elucidate Pickard's claim. Moreover, these letters indicate that modern critics, Van Wyck Brooks and George Arms among them, have erred in passing over Whittier's personal struggle for humility to dismiss his subservience to his editors with the curt rebuke, "no pride of artistry."[2] Often, in fact, Whittier was pained cruelly

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*Associate Professor of English at Boston College and Associate Editor of the *Shakespeare Newsletter,* Dr. McAleer is currently editing the letters of Whittier.

[1] Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (London, 1895), p. 551.

[2] Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York, 1936), p. 399; George Arms, *The Fields Were Green* (Stanford, 1953), p. 35; Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1927), II, 359.

by affronts to his pride; yet he bore his humiliations uncomplainingly, convinced that they were the needful chastisements of a wilful nature and the means of subduing it. It is time now, however, that we saw him not as a benign idealist preaching to his neighbor in didactic quatrains, but as a man who fought with uncommon courage to restrain a haughty nature, often eschewing even that most pardonable of vices, artistic pride, because he felt it jeopardized his efforts to achieve true self-discipline.

By nature Whittier was not modest, meek, selfless, and serene. His struggle to acquire these characteristics is the central fact of his life. He was precisely the man and poet he was because, from his twenty-sixth year, he fought an unrelenting battle with himself to be rid of passions singularly alien to the creed to which he adhered. And, indeed, upon what ground more suited might such a battle be fought than within the bosom of a gifted Quaker who, in the midst of a struggle for success, has awakened suddenly to an acute consciousness of his religious ideals?

To suppose, as Whittier's biographers usually do, that the Quaker virtues "were the dominant characteristics of Whittier's own nature"[3] is to deny him his most admirable distinction. What he did possess of these virtues was earned by fierce discipline. What deficiencies remained he covered as well as he could. In 1878, when past seventy, he told Elizabeth Phelps with rare frankness, "I have suffered dreadfully from coarseness, self-seeking vanity, and asinine stupidity among associates, as well as from the coldness or open hostility, and, worst, the ridicule of the outside world, but I now see that it was best, and that I needed it all."[4]

In 1828, when Whittier was twenty-one, he wrote John Neal, editor of the *Portland Yankee,* "The friendless boy has been mocked at; and, years ago, he vowed to triumph over the scorners of his boyish endeavors. With the unescapable sense of wrong burning like a volcano in the recesses of his spirit, he has striven to accomplish this vow."[5] Two years earlier, in June 1826, Newburyport's *Free Press* had published "The Exile's Departure," Whittier's first

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[3] John A. Pollard, *John Greenleaf Whittier, Friend of Man* (Boston, 1949), p. 29.

[4] Pickard, p. 640.

[5] John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life* (Boston, 1869), p. 337.

poem in print, and, despite a Quaker upbringing calculated to temper such enthusiasm, his soul had thrilled with pride. Soon afterwards, William Lloyd Garrison called on his father and spoke of his promise with warmth and hope. The elder Whittier's dour reply, "Sir, poetry will not give him *bread,*" though it stunned the young poet, did not curb his ambition. He was heir, on the Greenleaf side, to a bold and fiery temperament which a stern upbringing had kept quiescent. But his outward calm was no clue to the turmoil within him. "Few guessed," he tells us, "beneath the aspect grave, what passions strove in chains." "We are so accustomed to think of Whittier as modest and idealistic," says Albert Mordell, "that we forget that as a young man he was devoured by desire for worldly success."[6] Modesty and idealism, in truth, seem to have been of little concern to Whittier in those early days. In the six months after the appearance of the first of his poems, the *Free Press* published sixteen others, and in 1827 fifty more appeared in the *Haverhill Gazette.* Evidently Whittier hoped to storm the bastions of fame by sheer volume of output; but prolixity, unfortunately, is the one memorable feature of those early years.[7]

By the autumn of 1828 a reaction had set in. With some blank verse sent to John Neal, Whittier said, "If you don't like it, say so privately; and I will *quit poetry and everything else of a literary nature,* for I am sick at heart of the business. . . . Insult has maddened me."[8] More than half a century later, on 20 January 1883, he wrote to his first biographer, F. H. Underwood, concerning those early poems, "I am very sorry to find thee lay so much stress on dragging to light all the foolish things written by me, and which I hate the thought of. . . . The public have no interest in (and certainly no right of knowing if they had) these abortions."[9] Many men in their maturity have spoken as disparagingly of their first attempts at writing, but we must not dismiss Whittier's altered

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[6] Albert Mordell, *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston, 1933), p. 27.

[7] *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert E. Spiller, et al. (New York, 1953), p. 575.

[8] Neal, p. 337.

[9] From the original letter in the Harvard College Library. All letters quoted henceforth, unless otherwise identified, are from the collection of unpublished letters at Harvard.

viewpoint too readily; behind it is the story of the ordeal through which he passed during his prime of life.

Failure at the start of his career to win literary acclaim was not the only setback at that time to Whittier's ambitions. From poetry Whittier had turned more and more to politics. Mordell believes that "Whittier . . . first had a selfish reason for abandoning poetry, since he expected to acquire wealth by his political activities."[10] In fairness to Whittier, it should be noted that by this time he had learned that to an impecunious rustic many doors were closed. Pollard says, "The realization that by the world's standards he was not 'eligible' was undoubtedly wormwood to a sensitive youth already well aware of his intrinsic worth."[11] To these years belongs his ill-starred infatuation with his cousin, Mary Emerson Smith, who rejected him because she saw little hope in his prospects. In an undated letter written to her, probably in the spring of 1829, he said, "But after all, for what am I struggling? Fame and honor are valueless unless shared with friends whom I love." On 6 June 1829, shortly after she had refused him, he continued with faint disdain. "What is fame — wealth — prosperity — and all that ambition looks up to? What are they to the pure high feelings of our younger and better moments? Nothing — comparatively nothing!" Later in the same letter, however, he assured her, "If I fail of reaching the goal of my ambition — let my enemies — if I have any, exult — it shall not be my fault."

Despite disappointments as poet and suitor, and despite a breakdown in health, Whittier did not yet despair of conquering renown. In April 1831 he wrote to Mrs. L. C. Tuthill: "Disappointment in a thousand ways has gone over my heart, and left it dust. Yet I still look forward with high anticipations. I have placed the goal of my ambitions high — but with the blessing of God it shall be reached. If my life is spared, the world shall know me in a loftier capacity than as a writer of rhymes. There — is not that boasting? — But I have said it with a strong pulse and a swelling heart, and I shall strive to realize it." Eleven months later, he protested to Lydia Sigourney, "I would have fame visit me *now,* or not at all. . . .

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[10] Mordell, p. 64.
[11] Pollard, p. 49.

If I am worthy of fame, I would ask it now. . . . who would ask a niche in that temple where the *dead* alone are crowned?"[12]

On 13 September 1832, an unhappy Whittier told his friend, Jonathan Law, "I have done with poetry; I can *live* as a farmer — and that is all I ask at present." But farming was not to be Whittier's lot. For several months Garrison had been importuning him to join the abolitionist movement and, for lack of better prospects, he now yielded to Garrison's wishes. A change then was swiftly worked in him. Years later, in 1867, Whittier declared to E. L. Godkin, editor of the *Nation,* "I cannot be sufficiently grateful to the Divine Providence that so early called my attention to the great interests of humanity, saving me from the poor ambitions and miserable jealousies of a selfish pursuit of literary reputation."[13] Once he had embraced a cause, a tradition honored among Quakers, Whittier saw that what he had really wanted all along was the inner peace which is the reward of selfless labor. As Mordell says, he now "felt a welcome relief from the ambition that had been harassing him. He was now spiritually at ease, since remorse for a self-conscious egoism no longer chafed his sensitive spirit."[14]

Despite his derelictions, during his fame-seeking years, there was probably no time when Whittier thought of formally abandoning Quakerism. If he could not live up to the lofty ideals it enjoined, he was never unmindful of their worth. Once when asked about his preference for that creed, he said, "I am a Quaker because my family before me — those whom I loved — were Quakers. And also I am one because the faith pleases me. I believe in it."[15] If up until now he had hesitated to give full accord to Quaker beliefs, it was for fear they would thwart him in his ambitions. Fame and meekness hardly seemed compatible.

Whittier's difficulties, nevertheless, were not at an end. While evidently he was aided in his decision to renounce ambition by the "voice within," an experience of the Inner Light, the subtler potentials of Quakerism were, for the time being, lost on him. The resolve to spurn fame could not of itself turn him into an exemplary

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[12] Letter in the Connecticut Historical Society Collection, Hartford.

[13] Pickard, p. 513.

[14] Mordell, p. 69.

[15] Francis Campbell Sparhawk, *Whittier at Close Range* (Boston, 1925), pp. 173-174.

Quaker. He still had much to do to bring his spirit under restraint. An exchange of goals, the selfless for the selfish, was not an ample guarantee of serenity. Whittier, who did not realize this fact, writes to Jonathan Law, in October 1833, as a spiritual neophyte: "I have written some considerable upon Slavery & have been pretty roughly handled by the Southerners — but so long as I can entrench myself behind my Quakerism, as a tortoise does under his shell, I am perfectly safe." The note of expediency evident in this remark indicates that the political skills he had acquired in some measure still dictated the use he made of his faith. As he spent generously of himself in the cause, however, his awareness of his spiritual limitations increased, and together with it his understanding grew of what measures to take to banish them. Thus in 1834 he rejected a lucrative editorship because acceptance would have meant giving up his abolition work; and in 1836, for like reason, he resigned a second editorship after holding it for eight months. In these same years he sought also to augment his humility by externalizing it with more scrupulous observance of Quaker cut and drab in dress, and by adopting Quakerism's companionable idiom.

Menaced by mobs, set upon repeatedly as he gave himself with increasing fervor to the multiplying needs of the movement, Whittier arrived at the year 1840 shattered in health and wearied in soul. Resting from his strenuous labors, he wrote to Harriet Pitman, citing the difficulty he had in accepting his lot. But meaningfully he added: "I think sickness has a wonderful effect in fanning into life the half-extinguished conscience. It is doubtless better for me and for my friends that the hand of sickness is sometimes laid heavily upon me."[16] Pollard tells us that during his sickness "he patiently grew in inner strength and spiritual grace. With perspective sharpened by sitting momentarily in the stands of the battle arena, Whittier approached nearer to God as the only possible dependence of man and hope of the universe; and he won renewed faith in the mission of the Society of Friends."[17]

The satisfaction Whittier experienced when he set aside his ambitions soon encouraged him to make a further trial of Quaker virtues. Perceiving that pride had been the prompter of his ambitions, he sought humility, reverenced in every age as the touch-

[16] Pickard, p. 267. [17] Pollard, p. 197.

stone of the spiritual life. But humility, unlike altruism, could not be embraced merely by aligning himself with a cause. Furthermore, since a natural taciturnity had enabled him always to maintain the appearance of humility, a condition aided by Quaker externals, it seemed that now he must work surreptitiously to acquire the reality of it. In this step he resembles Benjamin Franklin, whose account of an almost identical struggle perhaps served Whittier as a model, for Franklin's autobiography had been a much-prized volume in the small library of his boyhood. Believing that he had thwarted ambition by associating himself openly with a selfless cause, that the reality of unselfishness indeed had grown up through the appearance of it, Whittier, to rout pride, now began to show a public humility. It was as a result of his efforts at this time to acquire humility by putting on the appearance of it that Whittier established the pattern of subservience toward his editors which was the basis in future years for the mistaken charge that he had no pride of artistry. One has only to recall Whittier's words concerning his sister —"had her . . . almost morbid dread of spiritual and intellectual egotism permitted, she might have taken a high place among lyrical singers"—to suspect otherwise.

When at first his editors charged Whittier with rhyme-derelictions or faulty syntax, Whittier was more apt to apologize than to offer a defense. The ease with which he capitulated encouraged them to advise more fundamental changes. Sometimes, of course, the changes were well-advised. We can see how he might not have wished to reject the interesting dialectal changes Lowell introduced into "Skipper Ireson's Ride," but a generation grown accustomed to the feline vapors of Eliot and Sandburg is surprised to find Whittier returning to Fields the proof-sheet of "Mountain Pictures" with the comment, "See what it is to trust an author with his own proofs! I defer to thy judgment. I shrink from the feline suggestiveness of my figure of speech. The tongues of fire shall *burn* up the mist, and not lap it."[19] And when it is recalled that he altered another poem on the advice of James G. Blaine, few can wonder how scholarship came to credit the belief that Whittier lacked artistic pride.

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[18] Pickard, p. 30.

[19] A copy of this letter is in the Harvard College Library.

The fact that he erred often on the side of uncritical kindness when assessing the work of others would seem to support further the charge that Whittier had no sound standards for evaluating art. But to Quakers critical leniency is the most venial of vices, and Whittier, determined as he was to make a show of his humility, inevitably adopted it. Upon others he bestowed the praise he feared to solicit for himself. To Thomas Bailey Aldrich he wrote on 28 October 1866, "I am delighted with thy story of the fond fathers' palm tree. It is a picture which richly deserves its setting. The little book is a gem every way." Again, writing to Aldrich on 14 March 1873, he said, "If thee know our frd Bayard Taylor's whereabouts & are going to write him I wish thee would say to him what I say to everybody, that this 'Laeis' is worthy to take its place by Goethe's Herman & Dorothea & Longfellow's Evangeline." On 12 May 1873 a book by Celia Thaxter has, he finds, "all the charm of Thoreau & White of Selborne."

A letter William Dean Howells wrote to Samuel Pickard, six months after Whittier's death, confides, "I have a good many . . . letters of Mr. Whittier, chiefly of kindness and good will towards my work and myself." And so he had. In October 1871 Whittier had remarked of *Their Wedding Journey,* "Nothing so graceful & pleasant has appeared for a long time." Of *The Undiscovered Country* he opined, "It will be regarded as thy best." A letter written on 6 December 1884 duly notes, "Thy new story begins admirably. I rather like Silas Lapham, and his girls are 'natural as life'." For a further mark of his deference we should note that he faithfully read each of Howells' novels as they appeared monthly in the *Atlantic,* although long before, on 30 December 1866, he confessed privately, to Gail Hamilton, "Long serial stories appall me."

To Ann Wendell, in the summer of 1842, Whittier had written confidently, "My inward self is calm. The ambitions and selfish hopes of other years do not disturb me."[20] In 1848, in the poem, "The Wish of To-Day," he reflects, "The yearning of the mind is stilled,/I ask not now for Fame," and concludes, "I only ask a will resigned,/O Father, to Thine own!"[21] This special note of

[20] Mordell, p. 126.

[21] *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston, 1894), p. 529.

resignation to the will of God was an inevitable outgrowth of Whittier's quest for humility. On 6 December 1859 Whittier had declared to Moses Brown, the wealthy Quaker philanthropist, "The standard is indeed very high & difficult, but, like the Apostle we are to press towards it 'not as having attained.' The Divine Ideal must always, I think be before us, never completely overtaken, for that would be absorption in it, & the consequent loss of our individuality." To suffer the difficulties of a pretended humility required a special conviction that such difficulties were a part of God's plan. Whittier was, in fact, prepared for such resignation from his earliest years. Pollard is convinced that the " 'deep inwardness' of his religious training . . . must have had some bearing upon the exceeding quiet and seeming diffidence of his later years."[22] His forebears had allied themselves with the quietistic faction of Quakerism — a group committed to extensive reliance on an overruling Providence — and Whittier himself was a lifelong member of the quietistic meeting at Amesbury and often expressed his preference for the old ways. As late as 1871, he wrote to Sallie Stalker, "I am a member of what is called the Orthodox part of our unhappily divided society. . . . I incline rather to the old standards of Quakerism than to the new lights."[23]

Whittier's quietistic heritage had ever reproached him for his pride and ambition on the one hand, yet on the other had strengthened him in his resolution to eschew these defects of character unobtrusively and to accept stoically the hardships which renunciation brought. Surely his deference to his editors owes something to this fact. We catch something of it in a note to Fields in 1850, where, abandoning his defense of some rhymes, he says, "Who is my mother's son that I should presume to dictate to thy superior wisdom? Do as seemeth best in thine own eyes, and I shall take it for granted it *is* best."[24] In a letter to Aldrich dated 25 January 1882 we see him, in the midst of painstaking labors, as it were, giving ground amazingly: "If, in thy opinion, the *two verses added* in *the returned proof* of my little poem, are rather superfluous, as *I* am now inclined to think they are, leave them out. On reflection,

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[22] Pollard, p. 31.
[23] Mordell, p. 294.
[24] Pickard, p. 350.

I find they are not necessary really. Do with them as seems best to thee." To men like Lowell, Aldrich, and Fields, the bowdlerizer of Hawthorne's journals, the responsibilities of editorship seemed perfectly clear. Since Whittier could not breach his humility without giving utterance to his pride or abusing the plan of Providence, as he saw it, he naturally acceded to their recommendations even when his own preference inclined otherwise.

Although its Quaker origins cannot be underestimated, Whittier's quietism, in its fullest manifestation, owes a debt to Oriental religious literature which gave him insights into that discipline which Quakerism did not provide. His interest in these writings began in the late eighteen-forties and steadily enlarged through the remainder of his life. Pollard says Whittier's works include "more poems on Oriental themes, more paraphrases on Oriental maxims, and more imitations of Oriental models than may be found in Emerson."[25] The aspect of Oriental thought which most attracted him is exhibited best perhaps by the obituary which he wrote for his friend Henry Taylor in November 1872: "He was Oriental in his cast of mind. . . . He had somehow reached a state of absolute quietude . . . and looked with simple wonder upon the struggle for wealth and place."[26] In sum, Taylor had attained the state Whittier was striving to reach.

Despite his incursions into the often profound scriptures of the Orient, Whittier retained a Quaker wariness of a complex system of belief. As Pollard tells us, Whittier's chief use of these writings was to enlist "authority in support of beliefs which he already held."[27] His caution toward and even mistrust of a complicated spiritual regimen is seen in his verses and acknowledged often in his letters. Thus in January 1873 he says to Howells, "I send back the proof of 'the Mystery' with, as usual *'more last* words of Dr. Dodd.' They seemed necessary to give full expression to my idea. I want even my mysticism to be understood." Later that year, he prizes a poem he wrote because it is not "obscure with transcendentalisms."

In 1850, in a preface written for *Old Portraits and Modern*

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[25] Pollard, p. 346.
[26] Pollard, p. 349.
[27] Pollard, p. 346.

Sketches, Whittier noted the rarity among his verses of "Sweet flower or healing herb where weeds abound." Upon consideration he suppressed this line before it could be printed; although he may not have held some of his poems in high esteem, there were too many others who were willing to say so without any need of his undertaking that office himself. In a letter to Lowell, written in late 1857 or early 1858, he remarks casually of a poem Lowell had spurned, "If thou cans't lay hands on the 'Election' Poem — please enclose it to me, as I have no copy of it. Do not humble thyself to look for it if it is mislaid." The poem was returned and placed at once in the *National Era,* of which Whittier then was co-editor. To steel himself against an editor's judgment he often alleged an impartiality which he did not truly have. A letter sent to Howells on 18 November 1876 shows that Whittier was quite aware when he had written well: "I have written a Ballad 'The Witch of Wenham' . . . it seems one of my best. . . . I ought to have at least $150 for it. I have no doubt I could get $200." Writing to Fields about "The Worship of Nature," he is still more articulate: "It is good, though I say it who shouldn't, and it must not be lost."[28] Of "The Germantown Pilgrim" he said to Celia Thaxter, "It is as long as 'Snowbound' & better, but nobody will find it out."

Underwood says of Whittier, "His care over the productions of his brain never ceased, and it was seldom that a poem was printed as originally written."[29] To Sparhawk, Whittier confided, "Everything is labor to me, I don't know any easy writing."[30] His letters to his editors supply proof of his industry. His talk of proof sheets is unceasing. He wrote to Howells on 13 July 1871, "Fields sent me another proof of the 'Birthday' . . . as the thing may be rather 'mixed' wd it not be well to send me the revised & corrected proof? I hate to trouble publishers & printers but I fear I was born to do so. I only hope that I may not be held responsible for any language more emphatic than polite which my blunders may call out." Whittier sometimes suppressed a poem even when his editors approved it. In February 1879 he tried unsuccessfully to halt publication of a poem that failed to please him. He told Howells, "My second

[28] Pickard, p. 509.
[29] Francis H. Underwood, *John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston, 1884), p. 218.
[30] Sparhawk, p. 126.

thoughts in regard to 'Landmarks,' is that it had better not go into the Atlantic, and I must beg of thee to withold [sic] it. I am sorry to have made thee any trouble with it but my decided feeling is against it. I hesitated over it in the proof sent me the other day, and now my hesitation is confirmed."

For more than a quarter of a century Whittier was active in the abolitionist struggle. By the mid-fifties, perhaps alarmed as the struggle moved out of its non-violent phase, but faced also with sickness and poverty at home, he turned again to his literary career. The move was fortuitous. Without his cognizance, years of strenuous campaigning had enlarged his powers of expression. There was new harmony in his writing, a plain-speaking integrity which could strike to the truth and yet not alienate. Fame, assisted by the larger manhood that had come to Whittier during his years of striving for self-discipline, now settled on him, and the muse exclaimed, "The garland which his meekness never sought, I bring him." The decade following the emancipation saw his poetic skills rise to their highest eminence, and the foundations laid for a fortune which would amount to more than $130,000 at the time of his death.

With unusual frankness, in 1863, Whittier told Garrison, "I am not insensible to literary reputation. I love, perhaps too well, the praise and good-will of my fellow-men." A letter to Aldrich, probably written in 1881, confides, "Scott says & I dare say truly 'Ne'er/Was flattery lost on poet's ear'." As fame rose now to equal the measure of his vanity and ambition, he was able to experience it nearly without remorse. On 10 May 1866 he told Celia Thaxter, "I wish I was only as good as my friends wish me to be, & perhaps sometimes dream that I am." When, after the Civil War, the world acclaimed him, he reported to Gail Hamilton, in a wry mood:

> I must tell thee something droll. Last week the Amoskeag veterans from New Hampshire, and a Massachusetts company with military bands, came and paraded before our house, and Governor Smyth of New Hampshire and one or two officers called on me. When they left, and I stepped out to see them civilly off, the men in epaulettes got up a grand military salute, with music and three cheers to wind up with! Was ever a Quaker in such a predicament? I did, I fear somewhat compromise myself by lifting, almost involuntarily, my hand to my hat—but I resisted the temptation, and only pulled my hat lower down over my brow, by way of testimony.

On 22 August 1869 Whittier told Celia Thaxter, "We have had

a good many pilgrims of late: — & I have been on exhibition until I am ashamed of myself. God help me to *be,* & not merely to seem, good & worthy of the respect & love bestowed upon me." By 5 August 1870 his humility had led him to place a modest value on the adulation accorded him by his visitors. To Gail Hamilton he observed good-naturedly, "I have no company now, always excepting 'pilgrims' going and coming, on their summer tramps, and 'doing me' as they do the beaches and hills." As long as he lived, however, Whittier continued to show every courtesy to those touched by his idealism.

As the years crept upon him, Whittier took increased comfort in his quiet, dispassionate faith. To Celia Thaxter he wrote in April 1869, "How I wish we could *know* anything! But I have no great expectation of a mathematical demonstration of the spiritual life. I believe it, & trust." In the autumn another letter to Celia declared a preference more for "faith & truth & trust than the fame of Shakespeare or the money of Rothschild." To Gail Hamilton, on 31 October 1877, he said, "I shall be seventy years old on the seventeenth of next December! And yet it seems but a little while ago that I was driving the cows home from pasture in Haverhill, with my pockets full of nuts, the fallen leaves rustling under my feet with no solemn suggestiveness then of the leaves falling from the tree of life. I look over the past and do not find much cause for self-congratulation, but abundant reason for gratitude to God for blessings — for what was denied me as well as for what was given me."

To Harriet Pitman Whittier wrote in 1879:

> I have been thinking over my life, and the survey has not been encouraging. Alas! if I have been a servant at all I have been an unprofitable one, and yet I have loved goodness, and longed to bring my imaginative poetic temperament into true subjection. I stand ashamed and almost despairing before holy and pure ideals. As I read the New Testament I feel how weak, irresolute, and frail I am, and how little I can rely on anything save our God's mercy and infinite compassion, which I reverently and thankfully own have followed me through life, and the assurance of which is my sole ground of hope for myself, and for those I love and pray for.

On 18 March 1886, already the subject of Underwood's biography, Whittier qualified a confidential petition to Howells to start another, with the statement, "I would greatly prefer that

nothing should be said, but I suppose that is not to be expected." Neither this petition, nor his recommendation to the town of Haverhill that it install a bust of himself in its new public library, nor the fact that in these last years he fell into the habit of touching up his photographs before authorizing their publication, should cause us to think that Whittier indeed had reason to "stand ashamed . . . before holy and pure ideals." There is something tenderly human in his failings and they offer assurance that the identity of the man had not been swallowed up altogether in a demanding idealism. One is inclined to doubt Mordell's surmise that Whittier himself wrote the biographical sketch in the 1889 edition of *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* which compares Whittier favorably with Milton, then states, "Many of his poems . . . are as fine as any in the language."[31] If he recalled his own words, in these last days,

> The Tissue of the Life to be
> We weave with colors all our own,
> And in the field of Destiny
> We reap as we have sown,[32]

no shadows can have crossed his mind to trouble him.

In 1892, as summer yielded to the quiet days of September, Whittier passed into his last illness. Though death was near, from time to time his mind cleared and he cried out, "Love — love to all the world!" He was resolved that the world should last encounter him serene in the assurance that all he had stood for had been worth while. His niece Elizabeth, attending at his bedside, asked him if he knew her. Arousing himself from the veils of torpor drifting over him, the valiant Quaker, who had let even pride of artistry stand forfeit to his struggle against vainglory, exclaimed in the gentle, Quaker-edited idiom which had given its tone to his art, "I have known thee all the time," and died with a little boast on his lips.

The charge that Whittier lacked artistic pride has no foundation in fact. He was a conscientious craftsman, aware of his limitations and reluctant to be beyond them. He accepted the recommendations of his editors to punish his pride. His critical leniency to others

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[31] Mordell, p. 304.
[32] *Works,* p. 474.

originated not in lack of standards but in a reluctance to give offense, for his own experience had shown him how easily a critic can offend even when he means to be generous. Knowledge that Whittier never perfectly achieved the humility for which he sacrificed a reputation as a conscientious artist yields place to the fact that throughout his life he carried on unceasingly his struggle for self-realization. The fiercest indulgence of his pride never could have made him a great artist, but his strenuous efforts to govern that pride saved for him his integrity as a man and gave to his poetry a vitality which transcends its limitations of form and proclaims it, if not the work of a great poet, the work of a great lover of mankind.

HISTORY IN CASH ACCOUNTS

By HENRY J. CADBURY

Did you ever look up last year's engagement calendar to see what day it was that you were invited to a friend's birthday? Did you ever go over the stubs of old check books to see what year it was that your house was last painted? If so, you will understand to what shifts the historian is put who has to piece together the more distant unrecorded past from unpromising indirect sources. Much of Quaker history is incompletely recorded. As I have indicated elsewhere,[1] the best source for knowing of early Quakerism in the Caribbean islands is the wills. Local journals are lacking and, except for one small island, so are meeting minutes. Even in many other places, less prone to hurricanes or the climatic disintegration of paper, there are large gaps in our records.

New England Yearly Meeting will celebrate its tercentenary in June 1961, but the early minutes are not extant. There are various references to the year, but the closest I can come to the date is an entry in the account book of John Bowne of Flushing. On a flyleaf he wrote in the summer of 1661 the dates of various agricultural activities — harvesting, sowing turnip seed, cutting "pesen," and the swarming of "our bees." He included the following: "In the year 1661 upon the 11th day of the fourth month English account [that is, June; at Flushing the Dutch Calendar was also used] we went from our house at Flushing [the present Bowne House at Flushing is said to have been built in 1661] towards Rhode Island to the General Meeting where we did stay nine days time, and the twenty eighth day of the same month about the middle of the day we came home again." Allowing the same amount of time for the journey in each direction, we can fix this earliest of all Yearly Meetings as closely as somewhere between the fifteenth and the twenty-fourth of June, 1661.[2]

It is not any of Woolman's published writings but his account

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[1] Letter from the Past, No. 12, *Friends Intelligencer,* XCVIII (1941), 592 f.

[2] Cf. *The Friend* (London), CXI (1953), 373-374.

books that have served lately to suggest his connection with the old schoolhouse in Mount Holly, now restored.[3] The recent restoration of the charming mansion of William Corbit, Quaker, and of its furnishings at Odessa, Delaware, depended respectively on his careful record of "expenses in building my house" (1772-74) and on a much later inventory of his possessions.[4]

For the life of Swarthmore Hall in the seventeenth century the fullest picture is obtained not from letters but by the surviving pages of Sarah Fell's neat household account book, including a substantial period when Fox was living there, not reported in his *Journal.* From this source we learn when well-known Friends were guests at Swarthmore, as when seven shillings, sixpence were paid "for a fat sheep when William Penn was here."[5] This visit is not noted in lives of Penn. Of course the illumination is sometimes the other way round: I mean that orthodox historical sources may be used to explain the cash accounts. Here is an instance that apparently escaped the sharp eye of Norman Penney. On July 4th, 1676, Sarah Fell notes money received "for a bottle of burns water used for Robert Jeckell" and, less than a week later, "for brandy used for Robert Jeckell." Now if we turn to that pious collection of dying experiences, *Piety Promoted,* we shall learn that "Robert Jeckell of New Castle-upon-Tyne, having a desire to visit G. Fox who was then at Swarthmore, began his journey, but was immediately taken sick. Still he pressed forward. He arrived at Swarthmore on the 2nd of 5th month [July], lay in bed sick nine days and died on the 11th of the month."[6]

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[3] Letter from the Past, No. 181, *Friends Journal,* VI (1960), 136.

[4] John A. H. Sweeney, *Grandeur on the Appoquinimink* (Newark, Del., 1959).

[5] *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell,* ed. Norman Penney (Cambridge, England, 1920), p. 263.

[6] *Piety Promoted,* Part I, by John Tomkins, 1702, and later editions. There was a 1676 pamphlet which I have not seen (Joseph Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books,* II, 9), "A Lively Testimony to the Living Truth, given forth by Robert Jeckell upon his Death-bed. In the presence of many eye and ear Witnesses whose names are subscribed." It is said to have been "published by Bridget Pinder and Elizabeth Hopper." This further explains the references in the account book which indicate that the money spent for these medicines was received from Elizabeth Hopper and Bridgett Linder (sic) respectively. Norman Penney has no note on the

For the visits of traveling Friends lists were kept in many meetings informally by individual members, often for a long span of years. Nowadays there would be a meeting guest-book. I know of no such list from Banbury, but there is extant for a year (1677-1678) "an account of the monies disbursed for Friends' horses by the order of Banbury meeting."[7] Giving the dates, the names of "public Friends," the number of nights, or services such as "shewin," and amounts, the list includes:

> 2 Friends' horses that came out of Long Island [Was one of these Friends John Bowne?]
>
> Isabel Yeaman's horse and George Keith's, [She was a widowed daughter of Margaret Fell and had just returned from visiting Europe with Fox, Penn, Barclay, Keith, and others.]
>
> G F's and his man's horses and a new girth and mending his saddle [His "man" was Edward Haistwell, who was also writing down Fox's diary; he mentions in it the three days and nights at Banbury.]

All these are examples of the use that can be made by modern historians of ancient records. But perhaps the most extensive and ingenious use of mere accounts was made by George Fox himself. About the year 1676, when he had finished dictating up to date his own Journal, he was evidently much interested in recovering and recording some fuller facts of the first rise of "Truth."[8] This could be done in various ways — by securing narratives of the careers of his fellow missionaries, by using the already accumulating records of sufferings, or by collecting information locally. For this last purpose Fox and others initiated in 1676 an elaborate and repeated local questionnaire. But fifty years later, after the third or fourth

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former and says of the latter, "Nothing further respecting Bridgett Linder is at hand" (p. 567). Elsewhere, however, (p. 317) the name Bridgett Pinder appears so written.

[7] *Friends' Quarterly Examiner,* XLVI (1912), 482-488. The payment for Fox's horse by local Friends was on Second Month 6, 1678. The dates given by Haistwell for Fox at Banbury are Second Month 2 to 5 (*Short Journal,* 1925, p. 268). By happy accident a letter dated 2 mo. 3 from George Fox to Margaret, written not by Haistwell but in Fox's own characteristic handwriting, is extant, now in the British Museum. It mentions "a great meeting" (Haistwell, "the monthly meeting") at Banbury the day before.

[8] See BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, XLI (1952), 4-7.

effort, over half the replies were still unsent. Those that were sent in were first published in 1907 as *The First Publishers of Truth.*

There were, however, right at Swarthmore Hall hundreds of letters from these workers. Fox realized they would "make a brave history," but he got little further than endorsing them with the name of the writer and the year. To piece them into a real history has proved a difficult task. But among them was a different kind of record — thirty to forty carefully compiled accounts of money distributed to ministers for expenses of travel or their needs in prison by George Taylor and Thomas Willan, of Kendal, out of the fund raised and entrusted to them for that purpose. These records are dated from within the years 1654 to 1657 and were sent to Margaret Fell. They served as the backbone for the summaries which come at the end of the original manuscript of Fox's Journal.[9] Fox evidently used the entries to suggest the names of the "First Publishers" and often the order of their journeys, as he prepared these annals from letters or memory, leaving out pounds, shillings and pence and filling in a few details. It is strange that neither Norman Penney in editing the annals nor Braithwaite in discussing the Kendal Fund seems to have recognized this dependence. The relationship has never been fully studied, but I believe the evidence is convincing that Fox and his amanuensis compiled in this way the impressive lists referred to. For example, one of the accounts for 1655 begins:

To Richard Roper and Richard Waller for Ireland	£1	0	0
to Joseph Nicholson for New England	2	0	0
to William Caton in Holland	1	0	0
to James Lancaster and Richard Clayton for Ireland	1	11	6
* * *			
to Reginald Holme and William Wilson for Germany	4	0	0
* * *			
to Elizabeth Cowart for Venice	0	10	0[10]

Fox's summary reads in part:

Also this year the 10th month 1655 James Lancaster and Richard Clayton passed over into Ireland to preach the gospel. . . . Also William

[9] Printed in *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Norman Penney (Cambridge, England, 1911), II, 321-338 (hereafter cited as *Camb. Jnl.*).

[10] Swarthmore MSS, I, 233, printed in *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, VI (1909), 50 f.

Simpson passed over into Ireland, and Richard Roper and Richard Waller. . . . Also this year Joseph Nicholson passed over seas to New England. And William Wilson and Reginald Holme for Germany. Also Elizabeth Cowart passed over seas to Venice to preach the gospel.[11]

Again we can see Fox's editing or lack of it by comparing the following from another account for this same year with Fox's summary cited after it:

to James Lancaster and the rest in Bedford Gaol	£1	10	0
* * *			
to Leonard Fell at his going into Yorkshire	1	0	0
* * *			
to Ed Whitwell of Hutton towards his horse being taken by order from the Priest Greenhead for 6d. formerly due	1	0	0
to Miles Birkett	1	0	0
* * *			
to Thomas Salthouse' brother and another for the Isle of Man	1	5	0[12]

Fox writes:

Also in this year James Lancaster was imprisoned in Bedford goal. Ed: Whitewell of Hutton had his horse taken from him this year by priest Greenhead's order and never returned to him again, nor any overplus money for 6d. formerly due to Miles Burkett.

Also this year Robert Salthouse and another Friend passed over into the Isle of Man to preach the gospel.

Also this year Leonard Fell passed into Yorkshire and several other parts of the nation to preach the gospel.[13]

A good example of Fox's agreement in order with the notation of payments is his list of persons imprisoned in Lancaster in 1655.

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[11] *Camb. Jnl.*, II, 331.

[12] Swarthmore MSS, I, 253; printed in *Jour. Friends' Hist. Soc.*, VI (1909), 51 f.; and a near duplicate, I, 254 (ibid., VI, 82 f.). Another example of similar accounts (Swarthmore MSS, I, 397) is printed by James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1850), I, 59 f., and repeated in his introduction to *The Epistles of London Yearly Meeting* (1858), I, ix f. These are noted simply as "accounts" in the cross-reference table of G. F. Nuttall's *Early Quaker Letters* (1952), but not calendared. Many have never been published, some were perhaps not used by Fox.

[13] *Camb. Jnl.*, II, 332.

Without giving the two texts I may simply say that the record of disbursements has forty-two entries with many names repeated three, four, or five times as receiving successive sums and several items for paper, peats, quills, coals, etc. Fox gives the same twelve names exactly in the order of their first mention, except that he writes Simpson for Simonson and by accident follows the cash account in once repeating the name of Richard Waller.[14]

We are told that there are "sermons in stones, books in the running brooks" (not sermons in books, stones in the running brooks). In the same unexpected way there is history in mere cash accounts.

[14] Swarthmore MSS, I, 311; and *Camb. Jnl.*, II, 332, eighth paragraph.

Quaker Research in Progress

Robert S. Burgess, Church Lane, Allison Park, Pennsylvania. Mary Dyer. (Written for young people of high-school age). Completed.

Leon Ray Camp, Department of Speech and Theatre, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. The Speaking of Roger Williams in the Quaker Debate. Indiana University: Department of Speech and Theatre, thesis for M.A. degree. 1960.

Charline H. Conyers, Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania. A History of Cheyney State Teachers College, 1937-1951. (Traces the history of the institution from its establishment as the Institute for Colored Youth, founded in Philadelphia in 1837 from funds bequeathed by Friend Richard Humphreys, to the end of the tenure of Leslie Pinckney Hill as President.) New York University: Higher Education, thesis for Ed. D. degree. 1960.

Lawrence R. Ephron, Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley, California. Friends In Deed: A Sociological Study of the American Friends Service Committee. (Evaluation of "Youth for Service" delinquency program and its place in the AFSC.) University of California: Sociology and Social Institutions, thesis for M.A. degree. 1961.

Bliss Forbush, Blue Ridge Summit, Pennsylvania. Liberal Quakerism, 1830-1850. (First section of a study of liberal Quakerism, its action and thinking, 1830-1960.)

Edmund Goerke, Monmouth Hills, Highlands, New Jersey. Authority and Liberty in the Life. (A study of unity and separation among the Children of the Light, 1650-1690.)

S. Garlin Hall, 7030 S. E. Brooklyn, Portland, Oregon. The Contribution of Henry Joel Cadbury to the Study of the Historical Jesus. Boston University: Biblical Literature, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1961.

Norma E. Henderson, Wonewoc, Wisconsin. A Study of Friends' Missions in Jamaica. Asbury Theological Seminary: Christian Education, thesis for B.D. degree. 1955.

J. Hampton Hoch, Medical College of South Carolina, Charleston, South Carolina, and Quintus Hoch, 2429 Frankford Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mrs. [Sybilla] Masters and her "Tuscarora Rice." (Information about her family and the mill used for preparing her hominy, which has been called "the first American patent medicine.")

Sydney V. James, Jr., History Department, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island. The Impact of the American Revolution on Quakers' Ideas about Their Sect. (Summarizes some theological points, but dwells more on Quaker ideas about the relationship between the Society of Friends and the rest of the civil community.)

Anne C. Johnson, Rivermere Apartments, Alger Court, Bronxville,

N. Y. The Pronoun of Direct Address in Seventeenth-Century English. (Study of occurrence of *thou* and *you* in a sample selection of plays and fiction in relation to social class and by decades. Grammarians do not recognize *you* for the singular before 1653 and only rarely for some time thereafter.) Columbia University: English, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1959. (Available on microfilm.)

J. Reaney Kelly, 137 Conduit Street, Annapolis, Maryland. Quakerism and the Founding of Anne Arundel County. (Its premise: that Anne Arundel County was the scene of the first substantial convincements in Quakerism on the mainland of the New World; also that the planting of Quakerism was unopposed by either the Church or the Provincial Government.)

Charles Lowell Marlin, Department of Speech and Theater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. The Speaking of Jemima Wilkinson, the "Public Universal Friend." Indiana University: Speech and Theatre, thesis for M.A. degree. 1960.

Allen Willard Mendenhall, Vermilion Grove, Illinois. History of a Quaker Academy in Vermilion Grove, Illinois, 1874-1942. (Points out the freedom of a private subscription school in contrast to the tax-supported, state-controlled, non-sectarian public high school.) Indiana State Teachers College: Education, thesis for M.A. degree. 1958.

Harry W. Nerhood, Whittier College, Whittier, California. A History of the Whittier Institute of International Relations, 1935-1959.

William T. Parsons, 712 Chestnut Street, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. Biography of Isaac Norris II. (Ph.D. thesis being prepared for publication with new material added.)

H. Wickliffe Rose, R. D. No. 1, Great Barrington, Massachusetts. The Colonial Houses of Worship in America. (Churches, meetinghouses, etc., built in the British colonies before 1798 and still standing.)

Thomas G. Sanders, Department of Religious Studies, Brown University, Providence 6, Rhode Island. Protestant Theories of the Relation between Church and State. (To include discussion of the distinctive characteristics of the Quaker theory.)

William Edwin Sawyer, 111 Delaware Avenue, Ridley Park, Pennsylvania. Our First Hundred Years in the Delaware Valley. (A survey of social, religious, economic, political, and military life, 1609-1701.)

Richenda C. Scott, Tre Anna, Dwyran, Anglesey, North Wales. A Study of Quaker Contacts with Russia from the Days of Peter the Great to the Present.

A. D. Selleck, 2, Longacre, Woodford, Plympton, Plymouth, Devon, England. History of Plymouth and West Devon Meeting. (Includes American contacts.) University of London: thesis for M.A. degree.

Edmund W. Sinnott, 459 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut. Old New England Meetinghouses. (History and architecture of New England churches and meetinghouses of all faiths built before 1830.)

Dorothy Sterling, Kirby Lane North, Rye, New York. Biography of

Lucretia Mott. (Intended for young people, based on research in original sources.)

Roscoe B. Townsend, 219 East College Street, Wilmore, Kentucky. Evangelical Concepts in Historical Quakerism. (Beliefs and practices of representative Friends from George Fox to the present.) Asbury Theological Seminary: thesis for B.D. degree. 1961.

Bula Trueblood Watson, 700 Grace Avenue, Worland, Wyoming. History of the Truebloods. (All the Trueblood branches, from the first John Trueblood, who came to the Carolinas ca. 1680.)

————————An Analysis of the Hymns of John Greenleaf Whittier. Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, Texas: English, thesis for M.A. degree. 1960.

Darold Duane Wax, 1820 East Thomas Street, Seattle 2, Washington. The Negro Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania. University of Washington: History, thesis for Ph.D. degree. 1961.

Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., Department of History, Keuka College, Keuka Park, New York. The Publick Universal Friend: Jemima Wilkinson. (Biographical study emphasizing her importance as a religious figure and her influence in the settlement of western New York.)

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of the Association was held on Eleventh Month 28, 1960 at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, with President Richmond P. Miller in the chair. Highlights of the business meeting were the Membership Committee's report, showing a gratifying gain of 99 members in the previous year, chiefly the result of a successful mail campaign during the spring, and the announcement of the prospective change in the name of the Association's magazine (see below).

The President then introduced J. Reaney Kelly of Annapolis, Maryland, who delivered an excellent address on "Quakerism in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland," illustrated by beautiful colored slides of houses and localities in that area with historic Quaker associations. Before and after the address members of the Association had an opportunity to see the special exhibits prepared by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for the occasion, as well as the Society's permanent exhibits, many of which are of special interest to historically-minded Friends.

* * *

At its meeting on Tenth Month 6, 1960, the Board of Directors approved the proposal of the Publication Committee that the name of the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* be changed to QUAKER HISTORY: *The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association,* starting with Volume LI in 1962. It was recognized that a change in the name of a periodical is a source of annoyance and confusion to scholars and librarians alike. But it was also pointed out that our magazine has already undergone, and survived, three changes in title, and that librarians would be duly forewarned. QUAKER HISTORY, it was suggested, is less cumbersome, more accurate, and more distinctive than the present title. By postponing the change until the beginning of Volume LI, we shall have completed a half-century of publication under the old title and, incidentally, shall have completed the current five-year period, whose volumes can then be indexed in our regular quinquennial index.

Book Reviews

Then and Now: Quaker Essays: Historical and Contemporary. Edited by Anna Brinton. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1960. 352 pages. $5.00.

It is fitting that Anna Brinton should have undertaken the task of gathering and editing the material for this book in honor of Henry Joel Cadbury, who recently resigned as Chairman of the American Friends Service Committee after twenty-two years of service. The Society of Friends is greatly indebted to Henry Cadbury for many contributions. He is an able interpreter of Quaker history. His lectures on the Bible combine mature scholarship with insight and the gift of humorous imagination. His loyalty to the peace testimony and his service to the American Friends Service Committee carry his teachings into action. Friends unite with other Christians in acknowledging his contribution as one of the translators of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible and the Apocrypha, and as author of several books illuminating the field of Biblical scholarship. They were gratified that, following academic connections with several Quaker colleges, Henry Cadbury was appointed by Harvard University as Hollis Professor of Divinity, the oldest and perhaps most famous chair of divinity in the United States.

Twenty-one Friends from England, Ireland, Sweden, and the United States have contributed to this *Festschrift.* Appropriately, the longest article, one of seventy pages, is a detailed and understanding biographical sketch of the honoree by Mary Hoxie Jones, his niece. Howard Brinton, long associated with Henry Cadbury at Pendle Hill, contributes an article containing new information on "Quakers and Animals." Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College historian, in "1652 in History: Changing Perspectives on the Founding of Quakerism," traces the various interpretations of Quaker history in the stream of Christianity which have been set forth from the days when the early Friends considered their faith a revival of primitive Christianity to 1957 when Henry Cadbury himself, following Howard Brinton, concluded that from the beginning Quakerism combined the mystical, the evangelical, the rational, and the social. William Hubben, Editor of the *Friends Journal,* to which Henry Cadbury has contributed more than one hundred and seventy-five "Letters from the Past," produces a delightful chapter on Quaker writing. Elizabeth Gray Vining recaptures a long-lost side of William Penn's character in her "Penn and the Poets"; and Janet Payne Whitney brings to the attention of American readers a Quaker little known on this side of the Atlantic, Philip Noel-Baker, who in 1959 received the Nobel prize for his outstanding work on behalf of world peace.

D. Elton Trueblood, in writing of two of the few outstanding Quaker

theologians, Robert Barclay and his great-great-grandson Joseph John Gurney, presents one line of Quaker thinking, Maurice A. Creasey another, and Alexander C. Purdy pleads for unity within the Society by way of the Divine Light. Horace A. Alexander rounds out these presentations by discussing the place of the Society of Friends among world religions.

Students of the future will surely turn to the admirable pages contributed by Muriel A. Hicks, Mary Ogilvie, Dorothy G. Harris, and Thomas E. Drake describing the resources—books, magazines, pamphlets, and manuscript material — found in the Quaker collections in London, Dublin, Philadelphia, Swarthmore College, and Haverford College.

Space does not permit comment on the interesting articles of Kenneth L. Carroll, Olive Goodbody, Emily Fogelklou Norlind, Douglas V. Steere, Richard Ullmann, and Elizabeth Yarnall. Anna Brinton has again placed us in her debt.

Pendle Hill Bliss Forbush

Ackworth School. By Elfrida Vipont. London: Lutterworth Press. 1959. 216 pages. Illustrations. 15s.

This welcome history of the oldest English Quaker boarding school is more than a parochial account; by means of her description of this microcosm, Elfrida Vipont has managed to present the outlines of Quaker history during the last 250 years. The task was made easier because Ackworth has always been a Yearly Meeting school; it has tended to reflect in its private affairs the course of fortune of the Yearly Meeting as a whole.

The author shows us the continuity of the Ackworth tradition: the school conceived as a family. She shows how the Christian impulse which formed the original school around the principle of a guarded education operates as vigorously today in the modern open school which seeks to bring its students into lively encounter with the contemporary world. She describes the long series of tugs and wrenches which gradually transformed the early school into the present one. The book illustrates the principle voiced in London Yearly Meeting in 1946 by the committee charged with setting up the plan for changing Ackworth from a dual to a co-educational school: "Spiritual atmosphere is not a thing apart; it is the medium in which things are done."

The perspective which the book establishes illuminates the history of Quaker institutions in this country as well as in England and helps us to see the liberal Quaker experience of the last century in fruitful relationship to its more conservative past. The exercise is essential if our Quaker community is to retain its sense of historical coherence amid the powerful centrifugal forces which tend to divorce us from the unifying wisdom of our past. The author believes that significant historical events are the work of powerful personalities. She quotes Emerson's dictum: "an institution is the lengthened shadow of a man." Portraits of great teachers and committee Friends enliven the history, and entertaining anecdotes dramatize it.

The problem of reconstructing life in times past is never adequately solved. Elfrida Vipont is effervescent, but her humor, to my ear, sometimes sounds condescending toward the moral earnestness of another generation. She deprecates the old severities and does not, I think, adequately describe the motives which explain them. Perhaps we are incapable of understanding how solitary confinement can be a function of love in the discipline of children. An indication of the success of the book is that where we see so much done, we long for more. We want to stand where these men and women stood, to feel the tensions and triumphs of their daily life. Elfrida Vipont's imaginative grasp of the past has awakened our consciousness of the possibility. The nearer the book comes to the modern world, however, the more alive are the personages. This difficulty is not so much a reflection upon the achievement of the author, which is very great, as a comment upon the ephemeral nature of human experience; perhaps the full reconstruction in living dimensions of the life of those early times is not possible.

Westtown School J. BERNARD HAVILAND

Barrow Cadbury: A Memoir. By Percy W. Bartlett. London: Bannisdale Press. 1960. 159 pages. Illustrations. 12/6.

Barrow Cadbury stands as a rare and indispensable person in the past one hundred years of Quaker history. His life span was actually almost one hundred years. During more than fifty years he seemed to be in most of the major streams of the Society of Friends and in others not specifically labeled Quaker. Among those who knew the beauty and unselfishness of his spirit and the extent of his interest and work for the welfare of people, for peace, justice, and Christian living, there must be the feeling that he "belongs to the Ages."

Percy W. Bartlett's *Barrow Cadbury: A Memoir* adds to the shelf of Cadbury biographies a digest of his family life, education, thoughts, concerns, spiritual discipline, and the wide scope of his philanthropy and service. The Introduction, by Henry Cadbury, says: "His life was full but not eventful." The book gives evidence that the last half-century of his life was filled with efforts—usually through existing channels—to shape the events of his day toward an ordered Christian society.

The book is loaded with material which gives, in successive stages, the developing personality and service of one who lived to serve. He is seen as a constant and vital support in the organization and mission of the Society of Friends. He found his way into the great channels of social service and reform by constant and intimate communion with the Divine. He was untiring in his efforts to benefit the underprivileged, reclaim the delinquent youth, strengthen the Adult School Movement, provide training for church leaders, promote civic betterment, and to encourage reconciliation and wholesome peaceful relations among the nations of the world.

Guilford College ALGIE I. NEWLIN

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

In its series of articles on Quakerism in modern times in Norse lands, *Nordisk Kväker Tidskrift,* Vol. XI, publishes one on Sweden (No. 1, pp. 2-11) by Emilia Fogelklou-Norlind and Greta Stendahl and one on Finland (No. 2, pp. 4-10) by Greta Langenskjöld.

* * *

The American Antiquarian Society in its *Proceedings* for 1959 (LXIX, 112-118) prints the account given London Yearly Meeting by Joseph Gill (1674-1741) of his journeys among Friends up and down through the colonies from North Carolina to New Hampshire. The article is entitled "A Quaker from Ireland in America, 1734-1735" and is edited by Henry J. Cadbury.

* * *

Lawrence Henry Gipson has written for his *British Empire Before the American Revolution,* Volume III, Revised (1960), a new chapter on Delaware, which was printed in advance in *Pennsylvania History,* XXVII (1960), 144-164, under the title "An Anomalous American Colony." Because of the abundance of Quakers in colonial Delaware and the legally irregular relations of these counties to Pennsylvania his careful and well-documented study deserves mention here.

* * *

The article by Alfred L. Shoemaker on "Church and Meetinghouse Stables and Sheds" in *Pennsylvania Folklife,* Vol. XI, No. 1 (Spring 1960), pp. 22-33, deals mainly with Mennonite premises, though it attributes both types of structure to Quaker precedent, and three of the many illustrations are of the sheds of Quaker meetinghouses.

* * *

The Pennsylvanian, a mimeographed serial published by the Pennsylvania Historical Junto, Washington, D. C. and edited by Milton Rubincam, contains a summary account, presumably by the editor, of the "Consorts of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania" (XVI [1959], 7-14). William Penn's wives are well known and John Penn was unmarried, but we have here information on the wives of Thomas and Richard Penn, with whom the dynasty closed.

* * *

Willard Heiss, 4020 East 34th Street, Indianapolis 18, has compiled, somewhat in the fashion of Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy,* the records of Milford Monthly Meeting, Wayne County, Indiana (mimeographed, in wrappers, 92 pages, 1960, $5.00). These

records begin in 1823. This is apparently one of nine projected volumes to cover eastern Indiana (not including Hicksite records).

* * *

A Mirror of Nantucket by George Allen Fowkes (n.p., n.d., c. 1959, 136 pages, 51 illustrations), is a very attractive pioneering study, described in a sub-title as "An Architectural History of the Island, 1686-1850." An attempt is made to do justice to the special local determinative factors, one of which is the dominating Quakerism through a long early period.

* * *

In his passage from youthful radicalism to the conservatism of his old age, Robert Southey, the Romantic poet, went through a phase (ca. 1808) when he could describe himself as an "almost-Quaker." Geoffrey Carnall in *Robert Southey and His Age* (Oxford, 1960, pp. 74-80) deals with this brief flirtation, showing how, under the influence of Thomas Clarkson, another "almost-Quaker," Southey was attracted by Friends' freedom from dogma, their advanced social views, even their pacifism. But he never went quite all the way: "The only way one could sum up his attitude," Carnall concludes, "would be in the formula: Morality is the best policy—but not yet."

* * *

The Second Edition of Elfrida Vipont (Foulds') *Story of Quakerism* (London: Bannisdale Press, 1960) has a new subtitle *(Through Three Centuries),* thirty-two well-selected illustrations, an Introduction briefly summarizing Quaker history in the 1950's, and a few new titles added to the bibliography. Otherwise, except for the correction of a few minor typographical and factual errors, it is apparently identical with the 1954 edition which William Wistar Comfort called "the best current account of Quakerism for the interested inquirer" (BULLETIN, XLIV [1955], 55).

* * *

One of the fullest histories of a local meeting has appeared without place or date of publication, lithoprinted and bound, entitled *Jericho Friend's* [sic] *Meeting and Its Community, Randolph County, Indiana, 1818 to 1958* (illustrated, 161 pages). Fully half the book consists of tables and appendices of membership, burial, and other lists. The rest is a detailed history for 140 years. The present brick meetinghouse dates, with some alterations, back to 1863. It was preceded by one or more log meetinghouses. For about half a century, ending in 1930, there was a Conservative meeting in a separate frame meetinghouse across the road.

* * *

Minta Hoopes has written and illustrated *Collected Traditions of "Ye Olde Log Cabin Town" at Chesterhill, Ohio, founded by the Quakers from Belmont County* (Herald Printing Co., McConnellsville, Ohio, 1957, 54 pages). The pamphlet deals with many details of persons, buildings, and events, but not systematically with the Quakerism of this village in Marion

Township, Morgan County. There were once Hicksite, Gurneyite, and Wilburite Friends meetinghouses in the town, the last alone surviving. The Quaker background is presented more romantically than explicitly. There are numerous references to Carl Patterson, a Friends Minister of a recent generation, and several poems written by his wife Edith are printed.

* * *

Lutie Eugenia Stearns (1866-1943) dictated before her death her autobiography, now published as "My Seventy-Five Years" in three installments in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History,* XLII (1958-59), 211-218, 282-287; XLIII (1959-60), 97-105. Her radical and feminist sympathies were combined with the work of an outstanding librarian. Her connection with Friends began after the First World War.

* * *

Henry E. Fritz has prepared for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XXXVII (1959-60), 411-431, an article on "The Making of Grant's 'Peace Policy'." It gives the background of the transfer of authority in certain areas to Quaker superintendents and agents and of similar authority to Episcopal and other church groups, and of the reduction of military influence in Indian affairs. A group photo of eleven Quaker agents in 1872 is reproduced opposite page 426.

* * *

The January 1960 issue (XLI, No. 1) of the *Palimpsest* is devoted to "John Brown among the Quakers." Chapters included are "The Coming of the Quakers" by Louis T. Jones; "Springdale's Recruits" (the Coppoc Brothers) by Pauline Grahame; "At Harper's Ferry," (including the capture, trial, and execution of Edwin Coppoc) by the same; "The Escape" (including Barclay Coppoc) by Owen Brown, a participant. There are portraits of each of the Coppoc brothers.

In this context may be mentioned the brief article on "John Brown in Springdale" in the *Cedar County Historical Review,* Tipton, Iowa, August 1958, with references to the Coppocs, pp. 11-13.

* * *

The *New York Times* on August 30, 1959, published a brief account of a brokerage firm, which, though the fact is not mentioned, has Quaker connections. Robert Goodbody organized in 1872 in Dublin the firm of Goodbody and Webb, and in 1885 that of Goodbody, Glyn, and Dow. The latter included after 1898 his son Marcus and after 1927 Harold P. Goodbody. The firm in New York is called Goodbody and Company, and has lately moved to larger quarters at 2 Broadway.

* * *

Paul F. Boller, Jr., writing in *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Series, XVII (1960), 486-506, on "George Washington and Religious Liberty," gives a good deal of attention to Washington's relations with the Quakers, and to his opinions of them, before, during and after the Revolution. Cf. this article in this BULLETIN (XLIX 1960), 67-83.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

The Friend

"Journey into 1817" is a brief description by Kathleen Binns of the diary of David Binns (b. 1799), written while he was apprenticed to his uncle in Sunderland. It covers the years 1817 to 1824 and has considerable mention of Quaker doings of the time.—Sept. 2, 1960, pp. 1185-1186.

Vera N. Massey writes on "James Naylor" — not so much a discussion of his life as an interpretation of his spirit, achievement, and legacy for later Friends.—Oct. 21, 1960, pp. 1405-1406; Oct. 28, 1960, pp. 1453-1454; Nov. 4, 1960, pp. 1493-1495.

The Friends' Quarterly

Andrew W. Brink traces "Early Influences in the Development of Isaac Penington." Among them were the "bizarre" character of his father, Alderman and Lord Mayor, and the instability of the rest of his family, of whom three became religious extremists and a fourth lived a life of immorality. These and other influences led him to withdraw from the world.—Oct., 1959, pp. 180-192.

"An English View of American Friends in 1860" by Opal Thornburg is a discussion of William Tallack's *Friendly Sketches in America* (London, 1861). This English Friend had some wise and witty things to say about American Quakerism, including comments about Earlham College. Rather unusual for that day was his friendly attitude toward Hicksites. — April, 1960, pp. 276-281.

Vera N. Massey recounts in "Living with History" her experience in writing a play about James Nayler. She outlines his life and interprets him as "everything to be looked for in a tragic figure."—July 1960, pp. 305-315.

In "The Welsh Settlers in Pennsylvania: An Experiment in Communal Living," Evelyn S. Whiting describes the sufferings of Welsh Friends, their misunderstandings and disappointments that came after their arrangements with William Penn for a "Welsh Tract" in Pennsylvania, but also the happy, substantial community they established near Philadelphia.—July 1960, pp. 325-336.

"A Story of Come-to-Good" refers to the meeting of that name in Cornwall. Harry Pallett uses meeting records and other papers to tell something of early Friends in Cornwall; special mention is made of the Stephens family—January 1961, pp. 408-416.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

Henry J. Cadbury reports an "Early Use of the Word 'Quaker' " in

a document dated 1640, ten years before the generally accepted date of the first appearance of the term. The date 1640 is probably a misreading for 1670, but the author then refers to another early use, a reference to Quakers in a letter of 1647. No evidence has turned up to show this to be an erroneous date.—XLIX (1959), 3-5.

"Elizabeth Bevan Tonjoroff (1847-1907)" was not born a Friend but joined an English meeting in 1883, after eleven years in Bulgaria and marriage to a prominent Protestant Bulgarian. The Tonjoroffs carried on active work in missions and in relief during more than one Balkan war, established a hospital, and agitated for prison reform. A committee of English Friends tried to raise money for their projects but without much success. After more than thirty years of labor in her adopted country, Elizabeth Tonjoroff returned to England for health reasons about 1905 and died two years later. Ormerod Greenwood has written this account of a remarkable but little-known woman, gathered from the scanty sources available.—XLIX (1959), 7-23.

Some early Friends made use of "technical flaws in the legal documents under which they were indicted" to escape conviction. This seemingly unscrupulous method is carefully examined by Alfred W. Braithwaite in " 'Errors in the Indictment' and Pardons: The Case of Theophilus Green." In the seventeenth century a defendant had much less chance to refute evidence against him than he has today. Many times errors in the indictment were his only effective weapon. Green, who was tried in 1671, used this method, and his defence is here outlined in detail. Some examples of Friends' scruples against pardons are added. These did not seem to be common, however; George Fox, for instance, at one time refused a pardon, at another time accepted one.—XLIX (1959), 24-30.

"Ellwood's *Davideis:* A Newly Discovered Version?" by Andrew and Helen Brink describes three manuscripts (dated ca. 1758?) of a poem with this title. Although it has many differences from Thomas Ellwood's poem (1712), it is considered here a revision of his work, and possibly of Quaker origin.—XLIX (1959), 31-33.

H. Rossiter-Smith has dug up a number of references to "Wordsworth's Quaker Servant: Mary Dawson, afterwards Fisher, d. 1854," primarily from the letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth.—XLIX (1959), 34-40.

In "From Radicalism to Quakerism: Gerrard Winstanley and Friends" Richard T. Vann presents evidence that Winstanley became a Friend at some time between 1660 and the date of his death, as recorded in Friends records, in 1676. He notes also that both Winstanley and John Lilburne, turning Quaker, became more conservative.—XLIX (1959), 41-46.

Joseph John Gurney's brief career in politics is described by David Swift in "J. J. Gurney and Norwich Politics." Gurney was chiefly interested in eliminating corrupt election practices. He spoke for a cousin who ran for Parliament in 1818 and wrote against election corruption, even though other Gurneys and their Bank were involved in these practices.

In 1832 he publicly supported the Whig antislavery platform and even considered for a time standing for Parliament himself. A religious call to a ministry in London and, later, in America turned him permanently from politics, however.—XLIX (1959), 47-58.

Richenda C. Scott's presidential address, "Authority or Experience," is subtitled: "John Wilhelm Rowntree and the Dilemma of 19th Century British Quakerism." The author traces the rise of modern Quakerism from the "Manchester group" of young Friends who rebelled against evangelicalism in the 1860's under the leadership of David Duncan, through *The Manchester Friend* (1872-1874), the publication of A Reasonable Faith (1884), and the work of Edward Worsdell (1852-1908), to the great influence of John Wilhelm Rowntree. After Rowntree's death in 1905 his friends and co-workers carried on his work of deepening and strengthening Quakerism.—XLIX (1960), 75-95.

Ruth L. Armsby presents conclusive evidence that the pamphlet *A Word for the Common Weale,* 1650, is by Isaac Penington, junior, although Joseph Smith's *Catalogue* ascribes it to Penington, senior—XLIX (1960), 96.

" 'Meetings Settled, Discontinued or United.' A Summary of Reports to London Yearly Meeting, 1834-1890" is a list of these meetings, in chronological order, and grouped by Quarterly Meetings. Edward H. Milligan summarizes information contained in the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of London Yearly Meeting for the period during which it was not also published in the Yearly Meeting *Proceedings.*—XLIX (1960), 97-103.

R. Wilfrid Crosland gives some notes on "Kirbymoorside and Hutton-le-Hole" Particular Meetings, in Yorkshire, from about 1669 to 1869.—XLIX (1960), 105-109.

In "A Quaker in Barbary: Thomas Hutson in Algiers, 1677" Marek Waysblum tells of the plight of a Quaker sea captain who had no English passport because to secure one required swearing, and as a result lost most of his cargo to pirates.—XLIX (1960), 109-111.

Four letters from the "A. R. Barclay MSS" are printed, all from Pieter Hendricks to George Fox. He writes of Friends in Holland and Danzig.—XLIX (1960), 112-118. More letters to Fox from these manuscripts are from Ralph Fretwell of Barbados, Adam Gouldney, and James Fletcher. There is also an account by Thomas Robertson of his arrest and imprisonment at Bristol in 1682.—XLIX (1960), 170-178.

John Nickalls contributes a note about the possible existence of an authentic seventeenth-century portrait of George Fox.—XLIX (1960), 122.

A history of "Friends' Reference Library, 1901-1959" is written by Muriel A. Hicks, long-time worker in the Library. A list of librarians is also given.—XLIX (1960), 123-134. This is supplemented by John Nickalls' tribute to Ethel Crawshaw Morland, who served as assistant librarian and librarian from 1903 to 1926.—XLIX (1960), 135-136.

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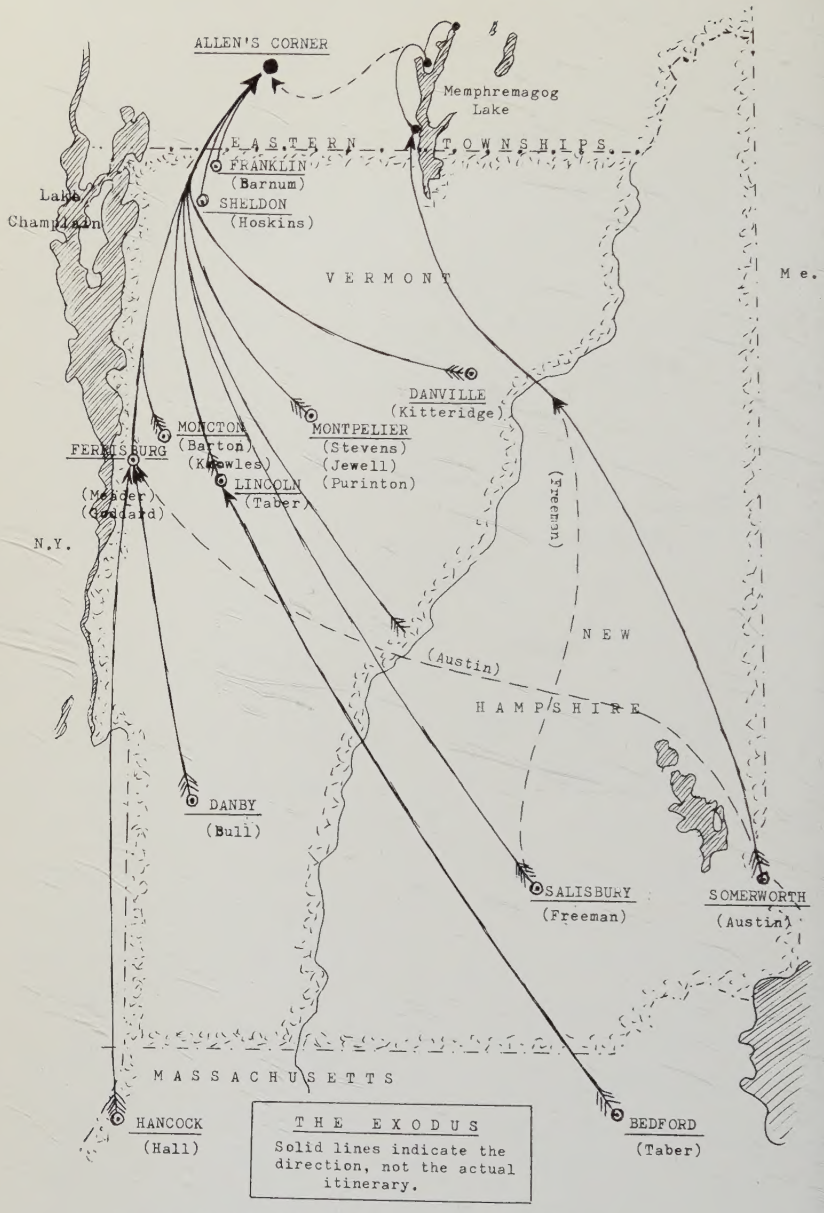

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